A

VOYAGE

ROUND THE WORLD,

BETWEEN THE

YEARS 1816—1819.

BY M. CAMILLE DE ROQUEFEUIL,

IN THE SHIP LE BORDELAIS.

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THE maritime commerce of France, almost annihilated by the revolution, by the wars, and the errors which have survived it, was, at the time of the second restoration, confined within very narrow limits; and to aggravate its distress, an enormous quantity of ready money was periodically taken from us, comformably to the late treaties. Under such circumstances, it was certainly undertaking an enterprize useful to France, to seek new markets for the national industry; to attempt, by means of our own produce, to revive and to maintain our commercial relations with a country, whose productions Europe has not been able to obtain, till these latter times, without sacrificing a considerable portion of the precious metals which are supplied by the New World.

M. Balguerie, jun. of Bourdeaux, a merchant, whose fortune and honour have withstood the vicissitudes of the revolution, has acquired a double claim to the esteem and gratitude of the public, by fitting out alone, at a great expense, an expedition to the South Sea and to the North-west Coast of America. His object was, to procure those articles which are in request in China, where they were to be sold, and the produce converted into merchandize of that country which is consumed in France, and with which our markets might thus be supplied, without the exportation of money, and by a useful employment of the produce of our soil, and of the French manufactures.

Being at Bourdeaux in 1816, a superior officer of the navy, under whom I have had the honour to serve, had the kindness to recommend me to M. Balguerie, as qualified to direct his intended operation. As there was little appearance of my being able to gratify, on board the King's ships, my love of a sea-faring life, and as a voyage round the world had always been a favourite project with me, the proposal made to me

could not fail to be agreeable. But I did not accept it, without stating to M. Balguerie, that my commercial knowledge was limited to those general notions which it is agreeable to have, respecting whatever is connected with the interest of one's native country.

The Bordelais, a three-masted vessel, of 200 tons burden, was fitted out in the summer, and nothing was neglected to render her fit for the voyage. She was provided with spare stores for two years; with a long boat, as large as could be put on board, two whale boats, one in pieces, and a jolly boat; she had two cannons (four pounders), six carronades (eight-pounders), a sufficient quantity of arms, of all kinds, for the crew and for the boats. Besides the usual nautical instruments, we had an excellent chronometer by Breguet. Vice Admiral Rosily had the kindness to send me several maps and books, among which were, the chart of the north-west coast of America, and Vancouver's Voyage. Our crew consisted of thirty-four men, including the officers, who were Messrs. Foucault, lieutenant in the navy, Briole, and Salis, and the surgeon, M. Vimont. We had also on board a foreign seaman, whose name was Siepky, who was acquainted with some parts of the Great Ocean.

The Bordelais unmoored from Bourdeaux on the 11th of October, 1816, I joined her at Pauillac on the 16th; and on the 19th, in the morning, the wind being favourable, and with the appearance of continuing, I prepared to put to sea.

Our voyage, during the remainder of the year, offers nothing out of the usual course of such expeditions. On the 1st of January, 1817, at noon, we were in 50° 13′ south latitude, forty leagues from the coast of Patagonia, and thirty-five from the Falkland Islands. The day was beautiful, and I never saw, in any climate, one that excelled it, in the purity of the atmosphere and the mildness of the temperature. The sea, calm as a pond, was scarcely ruffled by a gentle breeze from the north-east, which enabled us to make three or four knots an hour, amidst shoals of phocæ, and flocks of penguins and albatrosses, which came close under the bowsprit. The thermometer was at 16° above zero. The neighbourhood of the Falkland Islands reminding me, that France once had a settlement there, which promised a considerable increase, I wished that it would again occupy those islands, which, it is true, would not furnish any rich produce, but where many hands might be employed in their cultivation. This colony would be useful to our fisheries; it might serve also as a place of deportation, and would afford a vent to our superabundant population. Spain, which is on the point of being excluded

from South America, could have no interest in preventing us: and even the power which embraces the world with its colonies and squadrons, could hardly look with a jealous eye on the occupation of this desolate coast.

On the 3d, at nine in the morning, we descried Terra del Fuego to the south, six leagues distance. Approaching the coast, I recognized it to be the part between Capes St. Ines and St. Paul. The coast, in this part, is of unequal height, and bordered by hills, many of which have their feet in the sea, which breaks on divers parts. The interior is very mountainous; the highest summits were covered with snow, which was lying also in some valleys, though others had a tolerably fine vegetation. We saw no appearance of detached rocks or shoals. I continued to run along the coast at the distance of three or four leagues. It blew fresh from the west; the sea was high and hollow; we sailed rapidly before the wind, at the rate of seven miles, by the log. At three o'clock, the weather, which was gloomy, cleared up, and we saw ahead considerable tracts, covered with pyramidal mountains, the singular indentations of which had the most savage appearance. They extended on the starboard, and blended with those which we saw ahead. This land seemed to form an immense bay, terminated to the west by a low point, near which we were, and beyond which it stretched out in the distance. Believing that I had not run above a dozen leagues since noon, I could not make my supposed position agree with the bearings and distance of these new discoveries, which I could not have failed to recognize as Staten Land, had I not believed myself ten leagues too far off to see it. I was relieved from this uncertainty at four o'clock, when this distant land, detaching itself from that which we had ahead, left a passage open, which could be no other than Strait Lemaire.

I cannot attribute, to any other cause than the influence of currents, the error in which I was, for some time, respecting my position, for I cannot have committed so considerable a one in my observation at noon. Saving the comparatively insignificant error in the bearings, I reckon, from my observations, that we had made eighteen leagues in four hours; of which, I attribute eight to the currents, having made only ten by the log. This difference, extraordinary as it may appear at first, will not astonish those who know what rapidity currents may acquire, when the force of the tide is augmented by a fresh wind, along an extent of forty leagues of a coast without any considerable projection. Though the weather was gloomy, I resolved to attempt passing Strait Lemaire during

the night, in which we did not succeed quite so soon as was expected, the wind having failed in the middle of the night. On the west coast, we saw several fires, which the natives had lighted, as they usually do when they see a vessel; but none of their boats appeared. We saw but one whale in the Strait, which La Peyrouse saw covered with them. At five o'clock, we were out of Strait Lemaire, and steered to double Cape Horn.

From this time the weather was variable, and very stormy, so that we incurred great danger, and suffered much hardship. The sea ran extremely high, and frequently covered the ship, so that, with this, and the frequent rain and thick fogs, it was impossible to dry our clothes for several days together. Happily, our vessel proved to be a most excellent one, and had less lee-way than any I ever knew. During this rough weather, as the currents continually set towards Terra del Fuego, I always tacked so as to keep as far from it as possible; yet, notwithstanding this precaution, the currents, and repeated bringing to, made us come twenty-eight leagues to leeward of Cape Noir, and twenty-four leagues of Cape Pilares. On the 22d, we doubled the parallel of this promontory, which is the western extremity of Strait Magellan, having thus gone round Terra del Fuego, on the eighteenth day since we made land at Cape Ines, and the sixteenth after quitting Strait Lemaire.

At present, almost all vessels bound to the South Sea, pass to the east of the Falkland Islands and Staten Land, without approaching them. When, at this latitude, they meet with westerly winds, which are so common on these seas, they run to the south, as far as 60°, or thereabouts; there they find variations, which permit them to go to the north-west. Without pretending to blame the practice adopted by most navigators, I will observe, that by passing through Strait Lemaire, you are immediately twenty leagues further west than those who go round Staten Land, an advantage which is not without importance in seas, where the great difficulty is, to proceed in that direction. If you find it difficult to clear the passage, and do not choose to wait under the shelter of Terra del Fuego for the favourable winds, which are the most common, the worst that can happen is, to double Cape Saint John, the eastern extremity of Staten Land, which requires only a few hours.

The navigation round the Magellanic countries has long since been practised at all seasons; and if it is more fatiguing for the crew in winter than in summer, on account of the cold, and the long nights, we have the advantage of more

frequent easterly winds, and of longer duration, than in summer. On the whole, this passage does not present any difficulties which a good vessel need fear to overcome. It is astonishing, that the disasters of the squadrons of Anson and Pizarro should not have sufficed to give credit to a contrary opinion in the middle of the last century, when we recollect, that at its commencement, during the war of the Spanish succession, numbers of our vessels annually doubled Cape Horn. It is still more surprising, when we compare the state of nautical science at that time, with what it was in the age of Columbus, De Gama, and Magellan. We may add, that the important progress it has since made, has freed modern navigation from so many dangers, and given it so many means to overcome the difficulties which still remain, that, in this respect, as well as in the importance of their discoveries, no parallel can be drawn between the Argonauts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the most celebrated navigators of modern times, not excepting even Cook himself.

The weather became more favourable as we proceeded towards the north, and we were able to open the hatchways to air and dry the ship, and perform other necessary operations. The hope of being soon in port, made us the more easily forget the hardships we had suffered, as they had not affected the health of the crew: thanks to the constant attention paid to this point! It is true, the crews of the English and American whalers, which neglect most precautions, except cleanliness, and consume three times as much salt provisions as we do, are robust and healthy, but they consist of men inured to fatigue, which was not the case with my crew.

On the 1st of February, at noon, we descried the coast of Chili, and at seven o'clock were within two leagues of port Saint Antonio. We had a pretty strong south wind, and the fear of the currents induced me to put out to sea, that we might not be carried to the leeward of Valparaiso, from which we were only ten leagues distant. However, we did not observe any current, and the wind suddenly falling to a dead calm, and being afterwards very unsteady and variable, with a thick mist, it was not till the 5th that we got in sight of Valparaiso. At four o'clock, in the afternoon of that day, a vessel, under Spanish colours, came on board, with the director of the customs, the port captain, and the pilot. At a quarter past five, we anchored before Valparaiso, three months and seventeen days after our departure from the Gironde. Having fired a salute of twenty-one guns, which the fort returned with eleven, I landed with the ship's papers, and some letters of recommendation. Don José de Villegas, captain of a frigate,

and governor of Valparaiso, received me in a most handsome manner, not only authorizing me to provide for the wants of the ship, but also promising to afford me every facility that depended on him.

On the 6th, the San Sacramento, a large merchantman, sailed for Lima, with exiles, many of whom were ecclesiastics and monks. Don Villegas forwarded to Saint Jago a packet, containing a letter I had written to Don Marco del Ponte, president and governor-general, who had been prisoner of war in France, and one from M. Blandin, of Bourdeaux, at whose house this general had lived, during part of the time that he was a prisoner. I was presented to the principal officers, and the most distinguished private individuals among the European Spaniards and Creoles. I had occasion to perceive, in the course of my visits, that the spirit of revolutions had not forgotten this country. The movement which has already changed part of South America, had extended as far as Chili. After having raised the standard of independence, this country had been subdued, in 1814, by General Osorio; but the revolutionary ferment still existed, and the spirit of party, which excludes moderation, and often justice, still prevailed on both sides. I also remarked, with very different sentiments, that, notwithstanding the evils which an unjust aggression had brought upon their country, the Spaniards, far from considering the French as enemies, had resumed towards us those sentiments of good will, which are natural to two nations united by the tacit, but indestructible bond of common interest.

I was dining with M. de Villegas, at the house of a merchant, when he received a packet, the reading of which sensibly affected him. A corps of troops from Buenos Ayres had passed the Andes, and obtained some successes, which, without being decisive, greatly alarmed the company, which consisted of European Spaniards. They did not dissemble how much they apprehended that the enemy would be joined by a great number of mal-contents, hitherto kept down by fear, but who only waited for a favourable time to throw off, for the second time, the dominion of the mother country. Mr. Villegas, alone, did not participate in the general consternation; but all his efforts to inspire confidence, by shewing the great resources which the government had at its disposal, made little impression upon men who were already struck with terror.

On the 17th, a Spanish transport arrived at Chili with recruits. The governor obliged me to deliver to him the muskets which were on board the Bordelais; however, I delivered to him only the half, and I had the strongest assurances from him,

that those which he took should be either restored or replaced, if the resources of the arsenal of Saint Jago permitted it; otherwise, they were to be paid for at an advantageous price, respecting which I would not make any stipulation, that I might be more at liberty to claim the restitution of them.

Besides the cargo destined for the North-West Coast, the Bordelais had a considerable assortment of merchandize, suitable for South America. This secondary, but important, branch of our operation, was, like the principal, but a trial, to open new channels for the produce of the French manufactures. Meantime, the news daily received from the interior, announced the progress of the troops of Buenos Ayres; detachments of which, sent to different points, made the country rise wherever they appeared. These accounts only increased the uneasiness of the Spaniards, and of the small number of Creoles attached to them. The passage of the mountains, by the insurgents, had not been known twenty-four hours, and they were already preparing for flight. The officers of the government were the first to embark their property, with a scandalous haste; their families, and some even of themselves slept on board, to be prepared at all events. These movements, added to the reports which were spread of the progress of the insurrection, inflamed the heads of some indifferent characters among the crew, who had embarked only in the hope, excited by absurd reports, believed by the rabble at Bordeaux, that the ship was to cruize as a privateer. The measures which I had taken, betimes suppressed these dangerous notions, without my being obliged to act with the severity with which I had threatened the ill-disposed. While this was passing, I received, on the 10th, a satisfactory answer from the captain-general, to my letter of the 5th, but, in the existing circumstances, I did not think fit to avail myself of the permission he granted me, to repair to San Jago. The joy of the Creoles, and the despondency of the Spaniards, made me expect no advantage to the latter, in the issue of the contest; I therefore wrote to thank the captain-general for his kindness, and to inform him, that I was preparing to continue my voyage: I added, that I expected, with confidence, that the arms taken from me would be replaced, or their value paid me; and in case neither could be done in Chili, I trusted that his excellency would send me the necessary papers, to receive the arms in Peru, or a sufficient indemnity for them.

All was pretty quiet the two next days, and some reports were spread of advantages gained by the royal troops; but this illusion was destroyed in the evening of the 12th, by the arrival of several fugitives, who brought news of the com-

plete defeat of the royalists, who, on the 13th, began to arrive in bodies, mostly without commanders, and without order; the officers generally preceding their soldiers. Every one endeavoured to get on board the ships in the roads, where nothing was prepared to receive the troops. On the 14th, I sent Mr. Briole, in the morning, to settle our little account, and, if possible, procure some fresh provisions; but that officer found the city in the most dreadful confusion; the inhabitants, emboldened by the terror of those whom they considered as their oppressors, had seized upon the government and batteries, the cannon of which were spiked. One of their detachments, of forty or fifty men, concealed by the angle of the lower battery of the fort, surprised the fugitives, who, arriving a few at a time, could not fail to fall into their hands, and were immediately taken to prison. In the midst of this confusion, Mr. Briole could not return without some difficulty, and even danger. Pressed by the disbanded soldiers who assailed the boat, he was obliged to abandon part of the provisions which he had procured, and some musket-shots were fired at his boat, which, however, wounded nobody. On the way, Mr. Briole put on board a Spanish boat, the few unhappy persons whom he had been able to put into his own vessel, and returned on board at seven o'clock. Brigadier Atero sent to me, from on board the Britannia, where he had taken refuge, to ask for our boats, for the conveyance of troops. I had already promised them to Mr. de Villegas, who had come to concert measures with me; but the report of Mr. Briole, confirmed by the presence, in the Roads, of the officers, whose superintendence might have accelerated the embarkation, by preserving order, made me conceive, that it would be imprudent to employ our people. The whole difficulty of the operation arose from the precipitation and pusillanimity of the fugitives. It might have been conducted with perfect order and tranquillity, if, instead of being in a hurry to evacuate all the posts, and to send out the transports, they had kept possession of the works which command the city, to hold the inhabitants in awe. The Britannia alone, which had twenty guns, if properly stationed between Valparaiso and Almendral, would have removed all apprehensions of an attack from the enemy, till his artillery should arrive. Besides, the victorious troops were still at a distance, and the Spaniards were harassed only by a small number of citizens, whose boldness arose from the terror of their enemies.

Having no reason to delay my departure, I sailed at nine o'clock, and steered for Calloa.

The sudden revolution which took place in Chili, during our short stay, was, perhaps, less occasioned by the troops of

Buenos Ayres, than by the spirit of discontent which pervaded all classes, and which broke out as soon as they appeared. A vanguard, entirely composed of cavalry, crossed the Andes in the beginning of February, and sent out parties to different points, where the insurrection immediately broke out. In order to keep the people in check, the Spaniards sent detachments, which arrived too late, or were too weak. A corps, left to guard the defiles, could not stop the passage of the main body of the army of Buenos Ayres, commanded by Don Jose San Martin, who, including his vanguard, had under him about four thousand eight hundred men, well equipped, and chiefly cavalry: this army was accompanied by mules, which the soldiers mounted in the difficult roads and mountains. Pressed on all sides, the Spaniards, all whose corps united would have amounted to nearly the same number, rendered their situation still worse, by dividing the troops which they had remaining, to cover the capital. Twelve hundred men, with some pieces of cannon, stationed at Chacabuco, twelve leagues beyond St. Jago, were attacked, on the 12th, by San Martin, at the head of his principal forces, and entirely defeated, after five hours most obstinate resistance. The battalion of the regiment of Talavera, which had the greatest share in the success of General Osorio, perished entirely, with the exception of five officers and eighteen soldiers. The loss of the insurgents was also very considerable. The Spanish troops, who, to the number of a thousand men, at length marched from St. Jago, with the artillery, commanded by the captain-general in person, to reinforce those who were engaged with the enemy, learnt, from the fugitives, the news of the disaster, at some leagues distance from the field of battle. This only inflamed the ardour of the soldiers, who loudly demanded to march against the enemy. Instead of taking advantage of their enthusiasm, the time was lost in deliberating. The loss just sustained, and the recent insurrection of several towns in the interior, induced the general to retreat. This measure had a fatal influence on the minds of the soldiers: the fugitives, who would have rallied behind the troops, if they had found them marching forwards, communicated their own fears to them, and drew them along in the rout, the consequences of which were complete and decisive. St. Jago was evacuated with the greatest precipitation; and the crowd of fugitives hastened to Valparaiso, where they caused that confusion, which prevailed at the embarkation.

When the transports, loaded with these melancholy remains, left Valparaiso, the fate of the captain-general was not known. It was not till the next month that it was known in Peru, that

he had been taken prisoner, in attempting to reach Port St. Antonio, where he hoped to find means of escaping. Of his whole government, nothing remained to Spain of all the continent, except Baldivia, and the peninsula of Talcaguana, near Conception. The isle of Chiloe remained faithful.

Our passage from Valparaiso to Callao was not distinguished by any thing remarkable, except the facility with which it was effected, till we made the coast of Peru. On the 26th, at ten o'clock in the morning, we descried the isle of St. Lorenzo, which closes the bay of Callao to the west. At two o'clock, a canoe, with two Indians on board, came to us, and sold us some fine fish, at a moderate price.

After having taken the opinion of the two Oydors, whom I had brought from Chili, I permitted one of our passengers to go on shore in this boat, upon the express condition, that he should observe the most profound secresy with respect to the affairs of Chili.

Like almost the whole coast of Peru, this part is generally arid, and with no vegetation or culture, but at great intervals. It is in these Oases the beautiful appearance of which indicates great fertility, that the habitations are situated. Two leagues to the south of the port, a boat came out to inquire who we were, and the state of the crew's health. The Spanish passengers embarked, with their effects, on board this boat. I delivered to Mr. Pereyra, a letter for the Viceroy, in which, after having stated the reasons which induced me to go to Lima, I asked his protection, and permission to pay my respects to him at his residence. Don Fernando Camunez, captain of the port, came on board with Don Primo Ribera, lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of the Infant Don Carlos. The latter had just been detached to Callao, with a battalion of his regiment, to prevent the movements which the news brought might excite among the prisoners at Fort Real Felipe, and awe the discontented by a display of force. This was a consequence of the indiscretion of our passenger, who, notwithstanding the most solemn promises, had proclaimed the revolution in Chili.

The lieutenant spoke French with facility, having been long a prisoner of war. The good treatment which he had received in France, had inspired him with esteem for our nation, which he took pleasure in showing.

The next day, I went early to visit the port-captain, who introduced me to Don Antonio Baraco, captain of the navy. I was received in the most affable manner by this officer, who had served in the combined army during the American war, and had been acquainted with several officers of the French

navy. He did me the honor to come on board, accompanied with a numerous suite.

In the evening, the Santo Sacramento and the Santo Christo arrived from Valparaiso. The distress that had been experienced by the latter, which was crowded with fugitives, excited compassion and alarm for the unfortunate persons crowded together in the other transports, which were equally destitute, and were exposed for a longer time.

The viceroy returned a favourable answer to my letter, and gave me an invitation to Lima.

On the 1st of March, I set out for Lima, with one of my passengers, in a cabriolet of the country, drawn by two horses, and driven by a postillion. From Callao to the city of Lima, which is full two leagues distant, there is a causeway, almost in a straight line, which is nowhere more than three feet above the level of the ground.

On going from Callao, you see to the right the village of Bellavista, and shortly after, on the left, a large plot of reeds, which is a retreat for robbers. On the same side, at a place called Legue, half way to Lima, there is a small church, and a public house, both objects of regard to the postillions, who never fail to make the sign of the cross before the one, and to stop at the second to drink some brandy. The Capuchins, to whom the church belongs, take advantage of the halt of travellers, to come and ask their charity, in the name of *nuestra Senora de la Legua*. So far, there is scarcely any trace of cultivation, but after having passed La Legua, the road is bordered with trees, which, a mile further, form, on each side of the road, a verdant avenue. Two miles from Lima, the road, as far as the gate, forms a beautiful avenue, and promenades, furnished with benches: two small canals maintain an agreeable coolness, and fertilize gardens, the beauty of which is less due to art than to nature. This avenue is interrupted by several circular places. It ends at the Callao gate, which, notwithstanding the defects of its architecture, has a striking appearance, from its solidity, and agrees well with the rest of the picture. The interior of the city forms a disagreeable contrast with the exterior. On entering the gate, you have before you a square, or, rather, a large vacant place, covered with black dust, a foot deep, and surrounded by clay walls, belonging to stables, and abandoned inclosures, where they deposit filth, which rises, in a heap, above these wretched constructions. This place is a rectangle, four or five hundred paces in length. Its appearance indicates rather a ruined village, than the entrance to an opulent capital. The houses are at the other extremity. The streets, which are long, straight, and cross each

other at right angles, have a pleasing effect from their regularity, which is counteracted by their want of cleanliness and the monotonous exterior of the houses, which have but few windows to be seen.

I went to the house of Don Martinez Teron, a friend of Mr. Pereyra, who, with his family, received me in the kindest manner.

In the evening I went with Mr. Pereyra to pay my respects to the viceroy, who gave me the most flattering reception, and thanked me for the manner in which I had behaved to the two Oydors and the other subjects of his Catholic Majesty, whom I had received on board. His Excellency conversed with me upon the news from Europe, and especially from Chili, which country he intended to re-conquer as soon as he should have received from Spain the re-inforcements which he expected. He invited me to dine with him the next day.

Mr. Pereyra also introduced me to the Archbishop Don B. M. de Las Heras, a venerable and most pious prelate, to Don Torribio Aubal, secretary-general, and many other persons of distinction.

The next day I paid several visits, among others to the Commandant of the Marine, and to Don Fedro Abadia, agent to the Philippine company, who by his place and personal credit had great influence upon foreign commerce. I then went to the palace, where I was presented to the vice-queen. At dinner the conversation turned upon the affairs of Chili. Among the guests was General Mariano Osorio who had subdued that country in 1814, and had been Captain-General till the arrival of his successor, whom the ministry at Madrid had appointed.

The good offices of Messieurs Pereyra and Caspe having already inclined him to favour me, the Viceroy listened kindly to my request, to be allowed to dispose of part of the cargo suitable for the consumption of the country, on condition of converting the produce of the sale into merchandize of Peru. This favour, which had never before been granted to any vessel which had come without license from the Spanish ministry, seemed to insure the accomplishment of the hopes which Mr. Abadia had inspired me with. But several circumstances concurred to disappoint my expectations. The arrival of an American vessel in only ninety-three days, with three hundred tons of European merchandize, the importation of which was secured by a license from Madrid; the approaching arrival of several Spaniards, announced by a vessel from Jamaica; and lastly, the effect of the bad news which we had brought, caused a progressive decline, and I was obliged to

accept terms, the advantages of which were absorbed by expenses, charges, and enormous duties.

By means of the papers with which I was provided I easily got the government to recognize the justice of my claims, on account of the arms which I had been obliged to give up at Valparaiso. Unhappily the arsenal was too ill provided to replace them, and I could only obtain thirty muskets; the remainder was paid for upon a liberal estimate made on view of those which we still had. As the payment of our goods was not to be made till the expiration of two months, according to the invariable custom of Lima, I thought of employing the ship to advantage on some voyage which might be made in that time. After much consideration I thought to go and purchase corn on the coast to the north of Callao, which being very productive, cargoes of wheat and rice might be obtained in the ports of Saint Pedro and Trusillo, at 40 per cent. below the price at Lima, but I was obliged to give up this plan because the chamber of commerce strongly opposed granting such a favour of commerce to a foreigner. It is as extraordinary as certain that a branch, which would be so advantageous to the capital and to the provinces, was yet to be created, and did not employ a single coasting vessel. This shews the imperfect state of navigation and commercial intercourse between the several ports of Peru, and of the blind jealousy of the commerce of Lima towards strangers. I obtained from the equity of the Viceroy liberty to export the money which I had received in payment for the arms. Being obliged to convert into goods the produce of the sale, I laid it out chiefly in copper, which is almost the only article fit to take to China, where it generally meets with a ready and advantageous sale. I took also some articles of exchange for California and the north-west coast of America. The greater part consisted of provisions, which if they could not be disposed of in the way of trade, would be a resource for the crew in the course of the voyage, which I foresaw would extend beyond the time fixed in France, and the means with which we were supplied.

As I had learned from the reports of the whalers, and a journal of Captain Porter, of the American frigate Essex, that sandal wood, which is much esteemed in China, might be obtained in the Marquesas Islands, I procured a certain quantity of whale teeth, which are much sought for by the natives of that archipelago, which I determined to visit during the bad season, if I could not employ my time better.

During the time I was necessarily detained at Lima, I endeavoured to acquire some knowledge of the country and the inhabitants, and made some excursions in the neighbourhood.

On the 7th I visited the suburb of Malumbo, on the left of the river Rimac, which communicates with the town by a bridge of the same name; it is of hewn stone, and though old does not seem to have suffered by earthquakes. The bed of the river is of an irregular breadth; it fills only one part of it, dividing into several branches which form a great number of stony islets, some of which are covered with verdure. This defect, adding to the nakedness of the left bank, renders the view of the river, near Malumbo, disagreeable. The river on this side forms a pleasing contrast with the other: above the suburb it is bordered by immense avenues of gigantic orange-trees, forming promenades, which only want a little care to make them all that can be wished. In this part the bank is lined with masonry, to hinder the river from undermining the soil at the time of the high water, caused by the melting of the snow.

On the 8th the American ship, Sidney, anchored at Callao. She had come in only ninety-three days from Baltimore. On the 11th I went to Callao with Mr. Espinosa, a merchant. Having learned on board that a whaler had some barrels of biscuits to spare, I procured some in exchange for brandy. There was at that time an immense concourse of strangers in Callao, composed of emigrants from Chili, and inhabitants of Lima, besides those who were there on our arrival for the purpose of sea-bathing. In this season many rich families of the capital come and reside in this port; though the want of every ordinary convenience makes it insupportable to men like us accustomed to European comforts.

The environs, which are destitute of shade and almost of verdure, do not offer any kind of compensation except the sea baths, for which it is indebted to nature; Callao has nothing to attract its numerous visitors, but there is a freedom of social intercourse which forms a contrast with the mode of life at Lima. The women, who in that city never appear abroad otherwise than enveloped in the saya and the manta, here go abroad in the European fashion and in hats, a dress which very much becomes them. They have frequent assemblies, in which the etiquette of the capital gives way to pleasure.

I returned to Lima on the 12th with Mr. Espinosa, who confirmed what I had already heard of the robbers and their well known retreat, where they are never disturbed; consequently, no one travels during the night. But a few years ago several carriages having ventured to set out from Callao an hour after sunset, were stopped and plundered, though they went together. I returned to Callao on the 14th.

On the 24th I received an invitation from General Osorio to visit the arsenal. It is situated near the ramparts of the city on the south side. It contains a manufactory of arms and a foundry, where they cast cannon of the caliber of twenty-four pounders. This establishment seemed to be kept in good order: the extraordinary demand upon it during the intestine war, had stripped it of arms of all kinds. The general assured me that the muskets made there cost seventy piastres a piece. General Osorio was fond of his profession; he had a military library, chiefly composed of the works of our authors. He had the confidence of his troops, and appeared to enjoy the favour of the Viceroy.*

On the 27th the Veloz Passagera corvette, and the Vezuela brig, having under their convoy three transports with troops and ammunition, sailed for Talcaguana. This post had already served General Osorio as a place of arms in 1814, and was, with Valdivia, all that the Spaniards had left in Chili.

The Flying Fish, Captain Fitch, an American vessel fitted out for the seal fishery, left the port to continue its voyage. He was going to visit several detachments that he had left on different parts of the coast and adjacent isles, to collect the produce of their fishery, to take away his people from the places already exhausted, and to leave detachments in other stations. This branch of maritime industry, besides the expense of the ship and the provisions, requires only instruments of little value, without expense for the crew, because each individual has a share. It has been a source of riches to many English and American ship owners. Within these last thirty years the latter in particular have been extremely active and successful in this fishery, as well as that of sea lions, the blubber and teeth of which are highly valued. Hence these species are greatly diminished in number. The seals in particular are not numerous, except in places lately discovered. Sometimes the finding of a rock makes the fortune of the happy discoverer. Such is the spirit of enterprize and the activity of these mariners, who are inured to danger and fatigue, that an American has been known to leave a detachment of his crew at the Falkland Islands, to double Cape Horn, ascend to the north, leave a second detachment on the rocks before St. Francisco, in California, 2500 leagues from the other, then repass the Cape with some men, collect his detachments on both coasts and purchase in China with the produce of their fishery, a cargo for the United States. Several captains

* After the disasters of the second expedition to Chili in 1818, General Osorio set out for Spain, but died of the yellow fever at the Havannah.

of whalers have also made these voyages. I observed on board the vessels, of both these nations, employed in the different expeditions, activity, order, and economy, and the double talent of turning every thing to account, and of supplying the want of every thing. The skill of their carpenters also attracted my attention.

In the evening of the 30th, which was Palm-Sunday, the procession of the boriquito (or ass) was celebrated; this is a grotesque and ridiculous ceremony, unworthy of the Castilian gravity, and especially of the dignity of our religion: it attracted, as may be expected, an immense concourse of people, both from the city and its environs. Returning from Callao in the evening, I found the road crowded with a cavalcade of negroes, and people of colour riding full gallop and uttering cries of joy. The eagerness of this multitude, the singularity of their dresses, and the harness of the horses, formed a picturesque scene which was obscured by a cloud of dust. Many women, who were equally intrepid with the men, took part in this procession.

On Easter-Eve the public joy began to show itself, a multitude of persons of all ranks filled the squares and principal streets of Lima. The great square in particular, was filled with Spaniards, Peruvians, mulattos, and negroes. The tents, booths, and tables, which had been set out, were occupied till a late hour, chiefly by the lowest classes of the people. I was surprised at the silence which prevailed on this occasion, for except the explosion of a few crackers, our village feasts would have been much more noisy. Now and then I heard some monotononous songs, and cries proceeding from negro slaves.

The Spaniards who, in Europe, are remarkable for their sobriety, have not communicated this virtue to the races subdued, or carried by them to the New World; on the contrary, the posterity of the conquerors, whom fortune has confounded in the mass of the population, are no less intemperate than the Indians; there are, even women who are not exempt from this vice, which is so odious in their sex. In the emotion excited by strong liquors, they passionately indulge in lascivious dances, till, their strength being exhausted, they fall from a state of intoxication into that of insensibility, which is no less disgusting.

The festival of Easter was celebrated with much pomp, and the public diversions, suspended during Lent, were resumed. In the evening, the theatre was opened. I cannot say much in favour of the performance, or of the performers. The inside of the theatre is neatly fitted up, and would look pretty if it were better lighted; except the box of the viceroy, and some

others, the whole resembles our theatres of the second rank. The behaviour of the audience of Lima might serve as a model to those of many other places. They have, however, one custom, which is very repugnant to our notions; as soon as the curtain is let down, the noise of flint and steel is heard on all sides, and every mouth, even the most delicate, is furnished with a segar, and the theatre is filled with a cloud of smoke, so that you cannot see from one side to the other.

On the 21st, the first bull-fight put the whole city in commotion. I calculated that the amphitheatre might contain about 10,000 persons. Cock-fighting is also much in vogue at Lima.

I made an excursion on horseback, with several persons, to the village of Miraflores, situated near the sea, about three leagues to the south of Lima. The road is covered with the finest dust, which is extremely inconvenient. The ground, as in the whole country, is level from the coast to the foot of the mountains, the parallel chain of which seldom extends its branches to the sea. The soil is so fertile that the slightest cultivation makes it produce with the luxuriance peculiar to the equinoctial regions. There is a rich plantation of olives, the oil of which is esteemed to be nearly equal to that of Spain. In the neighbourhood of the city there are many ruins, of the times of the ancient Peruvians: their extent and elevation sufficiently prove the greatness of that nation, and most of them still retain an air of magnificence. Two or three appear to have belonged to aqueducts. It is well known that those people had the art of conducting water from the mountains to great distances; and that, by means of this system of irrigation, agriculture was carried among them to much higher perfection than it is now in the same country.

Several parts of the coast are strewed with ruins; the most remarkable are situated opposite to the little islands, called Pachacumacs. In this part, for which the Indians had a superstitious veneration, are the remains of a vast temple, dedicated to the sun. All these buildings, as well as the more modern ones, are of unburnt bricks. These frail edifices, which, under another climate, would have been destroyed by the inclemency of the seasons, still cover Peru, after the lapse of many ages, and attest, at once, the singular mildness of the climate, and the industry of its ancient inhabitants.

There are many good-looking houses at Miraflores, but as most of them belong to inhabitants of the capital, several of them were not inhabited, which gave the village a deserted appearance: the gardens, which, however, I only saw as I passed, appeared to me much inferior to their reputation

The coast, which is about half a league distant, is steep, and about 150 feet high. From this high coast is an extensive view over the sea, whose calm surface blends with the distant horizon; to the right and left, a bold and steep coast, forming an immense crescent; the Moro Solar, isle Saint Lorenzo, the rocks of Palominos, and the pretty village of Lurin, were the most striking objects in this fine picture, which the sun just then illumined with its last rays. The impression caused by the sight of a grand prospect, the splendour of the Peruvian sun, the ruins of the temples, all contributed to call to mind a mild and unfortunate people, who formerly came to behold, from this coast, with profound feelings of religion, the immersion of the sun into the ocean.

The Zephir, an English whaler, arrived at Callao on the 10th of May. It had lost, near Pisco, its captain and three men, who were killed by a whale, which dashed their boat to pieces. This vessel announced the appearance of insurgent privateers, but this report, as well as several others of the same sort, during our stay, was not confirmed.

While we were at Lima, two Russian ships, the Kutusoff and the Suwaroff, belonging to the American company, arrived at Callao. I had the good fortune to become acquainted with captain Hagemeister, who commanded them. This distinguished officer shewed a sincere desire to serve me. To the information which he gave me respecting the north-west coast, and, in particular, the settlements of his nation, he added a letter to Mr. Baranoff, the governor, in case he himself should not be there. What he told me of those countries led me to expect but little success in that quarter, on account of the bad selection of our goods intended for exchange, but this was the principal object of our expedition, from which I was not at liberty to depart.

Having, at length, settled all my affairs at the custom-house, so that I could continue my voyage, I paid my visits, to take leave of the persons from whom I had received so many civilities. Being obliged to leave one of my men at the hospital, I placed in the hands of the superintendent, the sum required for every patient who is left there. This man, unfortunately, had both his hands mutilated, when discharging a cannon, at an entertainment which I gave on board the ship, to several of our Spanish friends. Besides being deprived of this man, five others had deserted, and our officer, Mr. Salis, being in an ill state of health, I had consented that he should remain behind; he was to return to Bourdeaux on board an English ship. I gave him letters to Mr. Balguerie, to my family, and some friends, besides some from the officers, and several of the

crew. As soon as he had left us, which was about nine o'clock in the morning, of the 29th of May, we set sail.

Before we quit the coast of Peru, I will communicate some remarks on the country in general, and on the capital in particular.

Peru would offer an immense market to our commerce, if it were free; but, even as we found it, in 1817, the consumption of our manufactures was considerable. Those which are most saleable, and profitable, are silks, linen, cloth, wine, and fashionable articles. The exports are, cocoa, copper, Peruvian bark, common and Vigonia wools, and Chinchilla skins. Cochineal might become an important article of commerce, if attention were paid to it, but when we were at Lima there was not a pound in the market.

Spain was far from deriving from Peru all the commercial advantages which so rich a colony might have procured it. The productions of the mother country imported into this country were, wine, oils, some kinds of silk, and other articles of less consequenc. The remainder of the cargoes was derived from foreign countries.

The population of the city of Lima and its environs is eighty thousand souls, of which I do not think that the European Spaniards are above a twentieth part; the number of white Creoles is much more considerable; that of the African slaves may be equal to both the others; they are generally treated with mildness: the situation of those in the country is more unfortunate, as I have been assured. The remainder of the inhabitants is composed of people of colour of all shades, a mixture of Spanish, African, and Peruvian races.

The hatred which the Creoles shewed against the Spaniards so far back as the time of Frezier, has increased with the progress of the population. The events which followed the invasion of Spain by Napoleon, the steps taken by the Cortes, and the system of the present government, have given a new impulse to this sentiment, which is almost general among the Creoles. The example of the provinces of the La Plata, and the late events in Chili, have increased their desire for independence and the hope of gratifying it. To judge by the happy condition of the people of Lima, which I was assured the provinces enjoy in an equal degree, this restlessness of mind cannot be, in the multitude, any thing more than the effect of that desire of innovation (others call it melioration) which has spread over the world during these last thirty years; and of the insinuations of the higher classes, whose self-love and ambition are offended by the preference which the government shews to Europeans, though it sometimes confides important

offices to Creoles. Men to whom fortune, travels, and some knowledge not common among their countrymen, give a degree of superiority, fancy themselves equal to the management of the most important affairs, are angry at not being called to the administration of their country, and employ every means to hasten the change which will put an end to their obscurity, by establishing their independence. It is to be feared that it would for a long time be a fatal present to a country, where the rights and the duties of the citizen are generally unknown; where superstition and effeminacy, enemies to patriotism, prevent public spirit from expanding, and where the puerile love of distinction and the lust of power would be most frequently combined with inability to use it for the public good. The circumstances of the times would probably cause a republican government to be erected, and the manners are monarchical.

Among the principal establishments at Lima are the following.

The University of Saint Mark, founded by Charles V., in 1553.

The Orphan School, founded in 1654, which has been much improved since its first establishment.

The churches, which are numerous, are decorated with a degree of splendour, which can be only attributed to the abundance of the precious metals in Peru. Gold and silver are the principal ornaments, and jewels heighten the splendour of these holy edifices.

Unhappily at Lima, as elsewhere, the progress of civilization is accompanied by extravagance and luxury, and their dangerous consequences.

The women are very expensive in their dress, and have a particular taste for pearls, the whiteness of which forms an agreeable contrast with the deep carnation of their complexion, and the brilliant black of their hair. The Peruvian women are, in general, handsome or pretty; but these advantages lose their charms by a licentiousness, of which there are few examples among other civilized nations; a well-educated man cannot hear their common conversation without blushing. They are very proud of handsome arms and small feet: with this view, the girls are accustomed, from the tenderest age, to wear very tight shoes. They prefer dancing to all other amusements. Luxury, at Lima, extends only to the toilette: for the houses, the outsides of which are agreeable, shew in the inside neither taste nor splendour. The extreme love of shew which animates the women, and from which even the men are not exempt, might have fatal consequences if families did not

find in commerce, means to meet the excessive expense which vanity occasions. The merchant is so much esteemed at Lima, that the nobles engage in commerce without thinking it any disgrace to their rank; this is not the least remarkable trait in the character of the Peruvians.

When we set sail from Callao I steered N. N. W. passed near the rocks, called by the Spaniards *Formigas* and *Firellones*, and passed the Galapagos Islands, which I intended to double on the south, and to cross their latitude at a great distance to the west, so as not to fear the calms, which at this season are frequent in this Archipelago, and to the east of it as far as the coast of Peru. On the 8th, at one o'clock in the afternoon, we descried the south side of Albemarle Island, but we did not touch at any of these islands. From the Galapagos I steered N.W. ¼ W. with the intention of keeping beyond the extreme limits of the W. and N.W. winds, which in this season, called winter, prevail on the coast of Mexico. Mr. Von Humboldt, who has visited these seas, assures us that they are not perceived above 150 leagues from the shore. Rome confines them within a zone of seventy leagues. One of the best pilots at Lima, who had made the voyage from Peru to California, had told me that it was proper to come in sight of Socoro, and thence ascend the coast. After such authorities I could not fear being hindered by these winds while I held a course which was generally more than 200 leagues from land, and did not approach it within 150 leagues, except at one point. Yet the winds turned to the W. and N.W. in 6° north latitude and 100° west longitude; when I was above 200 leagues from the coast of Guatimala.

My hopes of a fine passage to the coast of California were wholly disappointed; we had contrary and variable winds during the whole of July, the currents took us out of our course, and nothing occurred to break the monotony of this tiresome voyage. We did not see twenty birds during the whole month, and still fewer fish; whole weeks passed without seeing a living creature, so that we might have fancied ourselves alone in the creation. The appearance of a flying fish was an extraordinary occurrence. The month of August did not begin with better auspices; however, on the 3d we had some indications of the neighbourhood of land, and on the 5th, at two o'clock in the afternoon, we descried the coast of California. At five o'clock we perceived the port of St. Francisco, and soon after the fort, on the south east point of the entrance; we hoisted our colours and fired a gun, the fort did the same, hoisting the Spanish colours. The vessel entered rapidly with the tide; at six o'clock we passed under the fort; the officer hail-

ed the ship, and we answered that she came from Lima. We run into this basin, proceeding to the bay of Hyerba-Buena, where Vancouver first anchored. Just as we dropped anchor the ship touched the bottom, but without the slighest shock, as the ground was soft, and the next tide set us afloat again.

Two officers who had hailed us on the coast came on board in the boat, their names were Don Gabriel Moriaga, (sub-lieutenant of cavalry, governor par interim of the Presidio,) and Don Manuel Gomez, lieutenant of artillery. These gentlemen were equally pleased and astonished to see us. No French vessel had ever before entered their port. They remained about an hour on board, partook of a little collation, and conversed with us in the most cordial manner. They did not appear to trouble themselves about politics, and had no knowledge of what was passing in Chili. They told us that Mexico was almost entirely pacified; I learnt that there were but few furs in the country, an American, who left Monterey a fortnight before, having taken away the whole stock. Don Gabriel obligingly granted me permission to provide myself vith the articles which I was in need of, and invited me to the Presidio. The next day he sent horses for me and the surgeon. We rode four or five miles through a very uneven country, the horses galloping all the way, and entered the Presidio through the principal gate, where there is a guard. We alighted at the house of Don Gabriel, who, as well as his wife, received us with great politeness. Don Gabriel advised me to come and anchor at the Presidio, which I declined doing till I had seen the watering place; Don Manuel offered to accompany me to it. I found it inconvenient because it is some distance from the sea. Returning to Don Gabriel I met the father Ramon Abello, superior of the mission, whom I intended to visit. He congratulated me on my happy arrival, offered me whatever his mission could afford, and said that he should be happy to see me there.

The road from the Presidio to the mission is over sand-hills, which produce only a coarse vegetation, ferns, stunted trees, pines, oaks, hollies, &c. This part was still more arid than the neighbourhood of our anchoring place. The mission is situated in an irregular valley between the hills on the north, and a small arm of the sea on the south. The soil seems much more fertile than at the Presidio, and thetem perature is sensibly milder. The church is kept in good order, and handsomely decorated; the sacred utensils and the pictures are the work of Mexican artists, and exceed in richness and taste, what is generally seen of this kind in most of the towns of the second and third rank in France and Germany: it may contain from

5 to 600 persons. There is not a single seat in it: the whole does credit to the piety and taste of the fathers: the Magazines well stored with corn, pease, &c. the looms, in which cloth for the habits of the Indians is woven, and the work-rooms, though not what might be desired, shew the industry and activity of these worthy men.

On going to pay another visit to the Presidio I met on the way Don Louis Arguello, the governor, who used me very kindly, and promised to contribute all in his power to fulfil the object of my visit: I had some conversation with him on the interior of California and the Indians who inhabit it. He had ascended the San Sacramento to about fifty leagues from its mouth, and assured me that he had always found from seven to eight fathoms water. The breadth of this river is very unequal, being two or three miles in some places, and not more than as many cables' lengths in others. In the rainy season it often overflows and covers the low country, on both sides, to the distance of three or four leagues from its mouth. This part, which is marshy and full of lagoons, is inhabited by Indians, who subsist upon fish. The interior is extremely fertile, the vine grows spontaneously, and though the grape is of inferior quality, for want of cultivation, Don Louis thought that brandy might be obtained from it. Maize hardly requires any attention. The savages, notwithstanding the inferiority of their arms, resist the parties which the Spaniards send at long intervals. If they are informed of their approach they abandon the villages, which are almost always found deserted, or occupied only by a few old people, who have not strength to fly. They lie in ambush and endeavour to surprize their enemy. In these incursions, the object of which generally is to look for natives who have deserted from the missions, it is very seldom that the Spaniards lose anybody, their jackets of buffalo's hide being a sufficient defence againt the arrows of the savages.

After the accounts of La Peyrouse and Vancouver, and the complaints which the officers themselves made about the absolute want of workmen, I was surprised at seeing, in their houses, tables and benches of pretty good workmanship. On inquiring whence they obtained this furniture, Don Louis told me that they were the work of one of the Kodiaks, who had been taken prisoner while hunting the otter. Thus in an establishment formed forty years ago by Spain, a savage from the Russian possessions was the most skilful workman. I obtained some information respecting the singular incursion made by the Kodiaks, in the years 1809, 1810, and 1811. These intrepid fishermen came from Bodega, (where, as the Spaniards

say, the Russians have several hundred of them), in divisions of thirty or forty boats, each with two men. They entered, keeping along the north coast of the inlet; when they had once got in they were masters of this gulf, in which the Spaniards had not a single boat. The otters, which till then had nothing to fear but the attacks of the Indians of the country, were now pursued by the most intrepid and experienced enemy; it was estimated that about 8000 were destroyed in the three years that they repeated their incursions. The confidence with which the Kodiaks were inspired by the Spaniards having no boats, having made them imprudent, some of them were surprised upon the coast, where they went to refresh themselves, while the islands offered them a secure retreat against the Spanish horsemen. At length, upon the representation of Don Louis, some boats were built. They are four in number, manned with Indians, and so heavy and ill equipped that, I have no doubt, the Kodiaks might continue their fishery with success if the present governor of the Russian establishment thought proper.

On the 10th, with most of the officers of the crew, I attended divine service at the Presidio, which was performed in a great hall, till the church, which had been burnt, should be rebuilt; this chapel, which was white washed and neatly kept, had an altar in pretty good taste, some pictures, and benches on the sides. Besides ourselves there were present about forty men, almost all military, and about a hundred women and children, all neatly dressed, and behaving with much decorum. After the service two children sung in a correct and agreeable manner, an invocation, each verse of which was repeated in chorus by the congregation. Father Ramon, who had officiated, invited us, as well as Don Louis, to dine at the mission. The repast, which was neatly served up, was composed of a small number of plain and substantial dishes, well dressed in the Spanish manner. The bread, meat, and vegetables were the produce of the mission, and of good quality. The conversation turned chiefly on the terrible decrease of the native race in the missions of the two Californias. They agreed that it was almost entirely extinct in old California; and for this reason the number of the missions was reduced from seven to two; it was also confessed that in the new province, which is more fertile, and was always more populous, there was not a single mission, where the births were equal to the deaths.

On the 12th we completed our store of wood and water, and delivered the articles which I was to leave in the country. The difficulty of disposing elsewhere of several of our goods, and the facility of obtaining provisions here, made me deter-

mine to come back; and we were to receive at our next visit, the payment of the balance which would be due to us above the price of provisions furnished, and the otter skins which had been delivered to us. Don Louis and Father Ramon promised to reserve for me all the furs which they should be able to obtain.

Having taken leave of our kind friends, we set sail at five o'clock on the morning of the 14th of August; and, having met with nothing particular, came in sight of the coast of America, a few leagues to the west of the entrance of Nootka, on the 1st of September, at four o'clock in the morning. The following morning we saw several boats; two of them with seven Indians came along side, but were afraid to come on board. They told us that Macouina was still alive, and pressed us to enter, assuring us that we should find a great number of otter skins: one of the boats had two, which we obtained.

In the afternoon the breeze, though faint, gave me hopes of entering; for this purpose I spread all the sail, keeping three miles from the coast, on account of the shoals marked upon the charts; we saw none of them, only some breakers on the shore. At three o'clock the wind freshened and brought up a thick fog which covered the coast; as I could not venture into the entrance under such circumstances, I cast anchor on the north side of Point Breakers. The fog continuing with calms, or unfavourable wind, it was not till the 5th that we were able to get into the entrance, which it is rather difficult to discover. The scattered trees on the west point are the best guides, their small number in this part contrasting with the thicket on the other side.

At five o'clock we ran into the entrance, and, as soon as we were in, the wind, which was already faint, entirely died away, and it was only by the help of the boats that we got into Friendly Cove, where we anchored at half past six, in ten fathoms water. In the night the officers kept watch, as at sea, the boarding nets were fixed, the guns loaded, and part of the arms placed on deck.

On the 6th, we got out several articles that we thought the most proper to exchange with the natives: they came in great numbers, and remained a good while in their boats, alongside. Our traffic began by the acquisition of four pretty fine otter-skins; we procured, also, a quantity of very fine salmon, and some other fish. The advanced season had caused the village to be almost deserted; the great chief, Macouina, as well as the majority of the population, were at Tachès, his winter residence. On the 7th, Macouina came from Tachès, and re-

mained some time alongside in a small boat, full of salmon: there was no ceremony that announced the presence of their chief, but the natives having pointed him out to me, I invited him to come on board; he got on deck with great activity, for his age, and immediately gave me his hand, with a mixture of confidence and dignity. I received him as well as I was able; I offered him a collation, to which he did honour, and a present, which he accepted with no less satisfaction: notwithstanding his incognito, he was saluted with seven guns, an honour which flattered him greatly, though it made him stop his ears.

Macouina, on his arrival, had made me a present of the salmon in his boat; after having received my present, he gave me three small otter skins, which I likewise accepted as a present, but he immediately asked for the payment. He left me at three o'clock, with many protestations of friendship, and promised soon to return. An inferior chief, named Noak, with whom we had already become acquainted, participated in our liberality, on account of his usefulness as an interpreter.

Soon after the departure of Macouina, a boat came from Clayoquot, a district in the dominion of Wicananich, a powerful chief, of whom Vancouver speaks. The Indians on board wore white blankets, or cloaks of blue cloth; they had three or four guns, in good condition, and appeared superior in activity, strength, and understanding to those of Nootka; they were besides more cleanly. We understood that they invited us to visit them, and offered to pilot the ship.

The presence of our vessel in Friendly Cove had augmented the number of the inhabitants, and the return of the chief, who promised to remain during the ship's stay, would render it still more considerable. Though nothing in their conduct had lessened the confidence which their apparent weakness inspired, I added to the defensive measures already in force, some new regulations, which I thought the best adapted to repel a surprize, the only species of attack from those people which is dangerous, and which they always employ against vessels.

Macouina came on board on the 9th, at seven o'clock: instead of the train with which we expected to see him surrounded, he had with him only Noak, two other persons whom we had seen before, and whom our people called his ministers, and two of his children, one of whom was his eldest son, named Macoula, who did not appear to possess the intelligence and activity of his father. A great number of boats came. Many of the natives endeavoured to come on board; but the interpreter himself having given an intimation of their pro-

pensity to steal, I had the boarding nets put up, to secure us from their rapacity. This operation having alarmed Macouina, I had the net removed on one side, on which he made an animated address to his subjects, on the conduct they ought to observe towards us.

I went with Macouina to the village, where there were only five or six habitable huts remaining; of the others, only the uprights were left, the planks which covered them having been conveyed into the interior, to serve for their winter habitations, according to the custom of all the Indians of the north-west coast: the planks which remained were three feet broad. The most remarkable house was that of the chief, of which only the skeleton remained. The tree which formed the ridge-piece was seventy-six feet long, thirty-nine inches and a half in diameter at the large end, and seventeen at the smaller; it was supported by two enormous pieces, sculptured, representing, on the inside, gigantic figures of the most hideous forms.

I saw the spot where Meares had built his boat and his house. Noak gave me an account of the death of Canicum, who was killed by Martines, whom he had bitterly reproached, calling him a robber, on account of the plundering of a hut by his people. Except this officer, the natives speak well of the Spaniards, and have adopted many words of their language.

A large boat of Wicananich having come alongside, Macouina appeared extremely angry at its coming into his port, and made a violent speech upon the subject; but after he had finished, I saw him laugh aside at the fictitious part which he had just acted.

After dinner, I visited the watering-place, situated at the north point, and as I returned I went into a hut, which proved to be that of Omacteachloa, son of Canicum, who is so much celebrated by Meares: his dwelling was in a wretched condition, small, and half open, but rather less dirty than the others. He was not there, but I saw his two wives, one of whom, who was blind of one eye, and very talkative, spoke a little English: she begged me to spit upon her child's head, because it had got the head-ache. She took care to inform me, that her husband was the next chief to Macouina, and that the chiefs alone had a right to two wives. In the evening, Omacteachloa himself came on board, with all his family; I gave a hatchet to the chief, and looking glasses to his wives.

A party of the natives left the village on the morning of the 10th, and set out for Tachès: this change of habitation is made with surprising expedition, by means of boats, with which every family is provided. In less time than an European traveller wants to pack up his portmanteau, the Indian

takes down his hut, conveys into his boats the planks that cover it, and the two or three trunks which contain his riches, and the dried fish which compose his stock of provisions; the others, containing their train oil, the instruments for fishing, and the chase, he embarks with his wife, children, and his dogs, and on the same day erects a new house at 10 or 12 leagues from that which he left in the morning: they choose calm and dry weather for these family expeditions.

As the Indians leave the uprights standing, they rebuild their huts as quickly as they take them down.

On the 11th Macouina arrived at six o'clock, accompanied by his son and Omacteachloa; they made me a present of two pretty fine skins, but which had been worn. At table he made a long speech, but it was thrown away upon us, as the interpreter was absent: I only understood that we were the subjects of it, and the tone of his voice made me think he spoke favourably of us. Noak arrived when we had finished dinner, after which I made Macouina a present in return for his: he seemed but moderately satisfied, because there was no cloth in it, though otherwise it was considerable, and soon after he asked for some cloth: knowing that I should have to begin again at every visit, I endeavoured to put him off to the next time, but he made me understand that he should not come back again. I gave him 2 ells of blue cloth; he demanded some for his son, and I gave him the same quantity. He then wanted some balls, and pretended that his son ought to partake of my presents, because he was proprietor of one of the skins which I had received. Not content with having received, for nothing, powder, balls, coffee, rice, &c. he importuned me for a bottle of brandy, which I gave him to get rid of him. In short, Macouina shewed himself in this visit an importunate and insatiable beggar, as Vancouver describes him, and not the generous prince that Meares would make him. I was very much inclined to dismiss this begging potentate, rather than yield to his importunate demands; but the hopes of deriving some advantage from him next season, induced me to send him away satisfied. At last he departed for Tachès, after having made me promise to return, and engaged to keep his furs for me.

Immediately after his departure, I went on shore with the carpenter to look for spars. The difficulty was to find trees small enough. Having followed a path which led a little from the sea, I suddenly came to a lagoon of fresh water, divided into several branches, and every where bordered by trees and underwood. The wild vine is met with at every step, as well as a beautiful shrub, which bears berries of an

agreeable taste, of which the natives consume a great quantity. Having left the path to return to the strand, I entered a thick wood, and arrived first at a small and rocky point, a mile from the entrance. Hitherto we had seen only pines, here we found some firs, which had no fault but that of being too large for us. However, we met with some that suited us.

I questioned Noak when he returned on board respecting the furs, and the vessels that are employed in the trade: he told me that the English formerly had a house, that the Spaniards had a larger one, but that both were abandoned. He added, that thirty months before, (he held up three times, the fingers of both hands,) an English vessel had come into the cove, the captain of which had a wooden leg, and that he stopped only three days: that before that, and after the departure of the English and Spaniards, only two vessels had entered the Bay, one English, the other American; that they had anchored at Mawina; that at present, and for a long time since, his countrymen sent the furs to Naspaté, (at the western extremity of the island,) where they exchanged them for handsomer blankets than ours. He told me also that the fishery lasted six months; that it had been finished two months, and would consequently begin again in four months, and he assured me that they would reserve the skins for me, if they were certain I would come back for them, which I positively engaged to do. Other accounts confirmed most of the statements of Noak on the sea otter fishery, and the present state of the communications of foreign vessels with these people.

On the 12th I went with Noak to examine the west side of the Bay, which I ascended 8 or 9 miles to the north, near to Mawina. About a mile at the most from Friendly Cove, there is another smaller one, which affords excellent anchorage at three fathoms at low water, and a careening place which is entirely closed: the natives call this cove by the name of Outza.

From this point to the north, the coast forms the western side of a channel a league long and a mile broad, closed on the east by a chain of three woody islets, called Hinasohous. From the northern point of the largest, which is the middle one, a kind of ledge extends, composed of a mass of rocks, in which there is a break, five fathoms broad, and twenty long, which serves as a communication to a beautiful lake, that extends several miles into the country. During the tides this passage becomes a sluice, through which the waters rush with great noise and rapidity. It was now high water; being warned of the danger by these circumstances, as well as by Noak, we kept close to the shore, where the current was weak. We

easily reached the summit of the coast, which is about forty feet high, and when we got to the opposite side, saw at our feet a magnificent basin, as smooth as a mirror, sometimes extending between verdant hills, covered with gigantic trees, and sometimes bounded by high naked banks. This scene of wild and tranquil nature was animated only by some salmon sporting on the surface of the water, and by an eagle which hovered above us. I regretted my inability to explore this little mediterranean. On our return we met several boats of the natives, from whom we received only testimonies of kindness.

On the 13th, the fishermen came late, but at eleven o'clock they arrived in great numbers, and we were surrounded with boats the rest of the day; among others, there was one from Clayoquot, on board which was a chief of some importance, who had a cloak of two otters'-skins, which he offered to sell. He was admitted on board, and regaled with biscuit and treacle. He exceeded his countrymen in the tediousness with which he bargained; having baffled the talents of Eyssautier, our principal agent in these negotiations, he disappeared, and was strongly suspected of having carried off the iron helm of the long boat. He soon returned, but without his cloak, and protested his innocence, and, as we had no proof against him, we were obliged to take his word, but I sent him away, because he had not fulfilled his engagement. This man was better made, and more robust, than those of Nootka; his physiognomy bespoke more vivacity, understanding, and cunning.

The next day some families returned to their habitations, and two huts were already built at six o'clock in the morning. Numerous boats came, but no more furs than the day before. Among the women who came on board, there were two girls, who were tolerably pretty, and not so dirty as the others; a sailor having spoken to one of them, was violently reprimanded by her mother.

Having gone to the outer coast to take the elevation, I was accompanied by three young men, who, without incommoding me, followed me every where. Returning on board, I took with me two of them, whose countenances spoke in their favour. When evening came, we had some difficulty in getting rid of our new friends, who wished to pass the night on board. They did not go away till we had promised them presents for the next day, and till they had given us a specimen of their dancing and music. Their singing was simple, and not disagreeable, but interrupted by frightful cries; the couplets very short, and the words of the ritornello sonorous: ***Hellé yalla hé, hellé yalla hellé.*** Not understanding them, I thought

they had borrowed them from the Lascars, on board some vessel from India, but the explanations which they gave me of their own accord, confirmed us, that these songs were in honour of their country, of which they speak with enthusiasm. The eldest assured us, that Macouina said *wacoch* to the sun.

I went ashore early on the 15th, with ten men, to convey, from the forest to the beach, the trees which had been cut by our carpenters. Eachtel, a nephew of Macouina, joined us with another man; both took great pains to gain my favor, by assisting us in our labour, and by shewing me various species of berries of an acid, and pretty agreeable taste, which abound in this place; one of them resembles a currant in its form and taste, though the berries grow single. These two Indians understood the use of the lever, and managed it very adroitly. Eachtel gave me to understand, that it was by this means the great stones were raised, which are employed in building the huts of Macouina.

After making some observations, I returned on board with my two companions; they eat and drank with tolerable propriety, and though rather awkward with their knives and forks, it was plain that they were not unacquainted with the use of those instruments. After dinner, Eachtel shewed a small round box, which served him as a dressing case. It contained a comb, some necklaces and ear-rings, a mirror, some down to serve as powder, and several little bags, with black, white, and a red dust, resembling black lead. Few of the natives go from home without these articles, for, with all their dirt and ugliness, they are inconceivably vain. When our guest was going away, I observed that his boat was new, and very well made, and expressed a wish to purchase it: he manifested his readiness to part with it for about four yards of cloth, to which I added a mirror; but our Indian, who had hitherto shewn so much frankness in his dealings with us, endeavoured to carry off one of the three paddles. I expressed my dissatisfaction at this conduct, and the wife of the chief, who was present, also reproached him for it.

Mr. Vimont found some human bones, which, with other indications, led us to imagine that they were the remains of a repast of Cannibals. In the course of the following day, (16th of September) several boats came with families, going to take up their winter quarters at Tachès. Some of these boats were very large; one, which was very well made, had fourteen persons on board. The chief to whom it belonged, was received on board, at the recommendation of Omachteachloa, who had given us a fine salmon. This chief was well made and robust; he had a much thicker beard than the other

Indians; he was a man of about thirty years of age, a relation of Macouina, and his deputy in a village on the coast of Clayoquot. He appeared to be much respected by the other chiefs, and shewed a frank and decided character in his intercourse with us. We purchased of him four otters' skins and one bear's skin.

Omacteachloa and Machoalick passed the day on board, and were very gay during the repast. I gave each a present, and they endeavoured to express their gratitude and friendship towards me. I thought this would be a good opportunity to find out the secret respecting the bones which our surgeon had seen. I therefore went with him to the spot, and questioned Machoalick, who confirmed our conjecture, that this place, some hundred paces in the forest, behind the abode of the chief, was consecrated to festivities; but I obtained no positive information on the principal point; he either could not or would not understand, whenever we asked how his countrymen treated their prisoners, and whether they eat human flesh. The bones, he said, belonged to bodies unburied by the bears, which often disturbed the graves. They inter their dead any where, and have no fixed burying ground. This place was destined to the repasts which followed the whale fishery; a large trunk in the wood served as a drum, on which Macouina beat time, and accompanied himself when singing. Machoalick entered into details on the subject, which we could not fully comprehend, and which related to the ceremonies used by the natives before and after this undertaking, which is of so much importance to them. The chief, before he distributes their portions to the guests, acts a kind of pantomime, during which he frequently imitates the blowing of the whale. Machoalick doubtless alluded to some formal act of invocation when he emphatically repeated, that Macouina said *wacoch* to the sun; I know not whether it was the idea of an abominable repast, suggested by the accounts of Meares, which had possessed my mind, and cast a gloom over all this scene, but I shuddered during this recital, made at the beginning of the night in a dark and desert place, by an enthusiastic savage, who made furious gestures, imitating the motions and cries of his chief, when he cut up a sea monster that he had killed with his harpoon.

The next day I made an excursion in the whale boat to examine the east side of the entrance, towards the south. After having crossed it I came into a cove, to the east of Friendly Cove, at the foot of a mountain. The only remarkable thing here is a steep rock, which forms a natural arcade, under which I landed. The sea at high water rises beyond it,

and covers a pretty beach, not more than 100 feet in circumference. The arch may be about 20 feet deep, 13 or 14 high, and 10 broad. We breakfasted on biscuits and brandy, and some enormous muscles which we found on the rocks; we had also strawberries and raspberries. The wind rising, I determined to return on board, where I hastened the preparations to get under sail, which we did at one o'clock in the afternoon.

During our short stay at Nootka, the Indians gave us no cause for alarm. We took in with the greatest facility our supplies of wood and water, and the provisions which the country affords; but, unfortunately, the furs are much scarcer than they formerly were, so that we had only procured twenty sea-otter skins. Most of the families that still inhabited Friendly Cove left it the same day that we did, and the two or three that still remained with Omacteachloa, intended to follow them to Tachès, as soon as we should have left their district. To the little I have said of making land at Nootka, I will add, that Point Breakers, at the extremity of a slip of low land, is a good guide, all the east of the coast being high land, especially to the west. The general aspect of the country is also a good guide; the mountains which surround the bay have angular summits, cut in strange forms, as well as several peaks, among which we may observe that of Tachès, which resembles a steeple. To the west the profiles of the mountains are more regular, and generally rounded.

On the 18th of September, at 5 o'clock in the morning, we were off the entrance of Nootka and Point Breakers. A boat from behind the point came alongside; there were nine Indians, only two of whom were allowed to come on board. They recognize Macouina for their supreme chief. They were in general better made, more lively, and less dirty than the inhabitants of Nootka. They sung, beating time with their paddles, while one of them standing, executed a kind of pantomime, mixed with gesticulations and attitudes, sometimes ferocious, and sometimes grotesque. They tried to persuade me to anchor in their port, which they shewed us, where they promised we should have many otter skins; but I invited them to bring them on board.

On the following day I kept near the coast, in hopes that some boats should come out with furs, as I had asked them; I wished also to examine this part of the coast. I was disappointed in both: I was not, however, much surprised at not seeing the Indians, as I could imagine, from what I had heard and seen at Nootka, that their stock of furs was exhausted at this time of the year. I determined, therefore, to proceed to

Nitinat, or Berkeley-Sound, not in the hope of better success, but to collect information for the following year.

On the 20th we made the land, distant three or four leagues, N.N.E. At 3 o'clock I steered N.E. to pass between the group of islets on the west, and that on the east; but on approaching, I perceived from the mast-head that the further part of this channel, which is wide at its entrance, was full of breakers. I resolved to try the passage between the east coast and the group, which appeared to be safer, though less open. Though the sky was clear, and the moon bright, I would not venture into this labyrinth, respecting which I had no guide but Vancouver's map, which, in this part, does not appear to me to be very correct, and which, besides, is on too small a scale to steer by. As for Meares' plan, it no more resembled the entrance I had before me than that of the Ganges. The depth, (sixty-four fathoms,) being too great to allow me to anchor, I bore off: a calm soon followed.

The state of the weather was such, for the three following days, that it was not till the 24th that we got into the channel, between the continent on the east, and the islands on the west. We put out the long-boat, and a whale-boat; and Mr. Foucault was sent to seek for an anchoring place towards the north, while the vessel proceeded in the channel with a faint breeze.

Several boats approached, but the natives would not come alongside till the arrival of a chief, who came on board without shewing any distrust.

At six o'clock Mr. Foucault returned after having found on the east side, two arms of the sea near each other. He entered the largest, which afforded good anchorage, but the depth was great at the entrance. After several other trials, in which we were in considerable danger, being obliged to cut our cable and losing our best whale boat, we could find no better anchorage than in the smallest of the two arms which Mr. Foucault found the day before, where the vessel was moored on the 25th in nine fathoms water.

Notwithstanding the rain, we were visited by many Indians, among whom was Nanat, a distinguished chief, who came on board alone. He gave us an otter skin as a present, in the same manner as Macouina. For some succeeding days nothing remarkable happened. We employed five days, but to no purpose, in dragging for our cable and anchor, but on the 5th of October, though the loss was very disagreeable, I resolved to give up the search, as the lateness of the season and ill health of the crew made it a duty to leave these shores and pass the winter in a milder climate. I employed part of the 5th

in examining the passages which lead to the channel between the islands, though all appears clear in the chart which Vancouver gives of them after the Spaniards, several are impracticable, either on account of sand banks which obstruct the entrance, or because they are too narrow; as for the special plan which Meares gives of Berkeley-Sound, it appears to me to be made according to his own fancy.

The Indians on the Nitinat shore are generally better made and more cleanly than those of Nootka; they seem more active, and have more expressive countenances; but, in some respects, they are more remote from civilization, having less communication with strangers; they have a more savage look, are more inclined to theft, and more importunate in demanding presents. However they never showed any hostile intentions either on board or towards the boats; which, it is true, were always armed when they were sent to any distance, and on board the net was always put up before the number of Indians became considerable. Of all the means of defence which the Bordelais possessed, there was none which they dreaded so much as a black mastiff dog, which we brought from Peru. We saw several men and a greater number of women, whose complexion differed from white only by a tinge of pale yellow. Some young people, of both sexes, had a colour, and many children would have been thought pretty in Europe. The greater number of the Indians have black hair, the remainder a light red, all wear the hair long, and the women comb it carefully and divide it over the middle of the forehead. Both sexes dress the same as in Nootka, with this difference, that the women wear under their other garments a kind of apron of bark, not woven but only fastened to a girdle. We saw many well-made women with good arms, but, in general, very ugly hands. On the whole they are better looking than the women of Nootka, though there is something harsher in their countenances, chiefly owing to their narrow foreheads, which are wrinkled at an early age. We saw only three or four who in Europe would have any pretensions to beauty. One of them was the wife of Cia, who had received us hospitably; another the wife of a great chief, was almost white; she had large black eyes, regular features, a fine countenance, and much propriety and dignity in her manners. The women and girls appeared as modest as those of Nootka, and still more reserved.

We observed here the same hierarchy and the same subordination as at Nootka. Nanat appeared to be the grand chief; he exercised his authority with more arrogance than Macouina; we frequently saw him behave harshly to Cia, and a part of

the presents which we had made the latter, passed into the hands of his superior.

As far as I could understand, the natives call by the names of Anachtchitl and Oheia the district which surrounds their bay; at least it is certain that the name of Nitinat belongs to no part of it, but to a village which is situated far to the south-east, towards the strait of Fuca. They give the name Tchaxa, or rather Tchacktza, to Port Desire, (Port Désiré,) and the district which surrounds it. We had given this name beforehand to the anchoring place, the discovery of which interested us so nearly. This port, into which the natives told us no vessel had ever before entered, is situated two leagues from the passage, on the east side of the bay, and, and as there is every reason to believe, on the great island Quadra, of Vancouver. The only mark is a steep hillock, destitute of trees but covered with a beautiful verdure, which is on the sea side, some cables' length to the south, and which has the appearance of a ruined fortification. Being surrounded in the interior by trees which command it, it is not very easily to be distinguished. Even the entrance of the canal of Tchachtza, which is only ten fathoms broad, and surrounded by lofty trees, could only be seen when very near, if it were not preceded by a cove less open than deep, but which has too much water to anchor with a single cable. In this recess was our port, as well as another arm of the sea, more spacious but less sheltered and obstructed in the inside by rocks and shoals.

Before I left these coasts the Indians solicited me to return the next year, but I would not bind myself to pay a second visit to this port, which the otters have long since nearly forsaken.

We got out to sea on the 7th of October, but the wind failing we were soon obliged to come to an anchor. Shortly afterwards a man, who was nearly white, came on board; there was something in his manners and address which indicated a higher degree of civilization. When he came alongside he asked, in English, with a kind of politeness, to be admitted; I took him down into my cabin and offered him treacle, biscuit, and wine. He behaved with much propriety, without asking for any thing. He spoke English better than any other Indian, so as to make himself well understood, notwithstanding his bad pronunciation. His name was Swanimilich, and he lived at Tchinouk, behind Cape Flattery, as he gave me to understand, whence he had come to fish. He assured me that there was at that place four Americans, who were left by a vessel from New York. He named three very distinctly, Messrs. Clark, Lewis, and Kean. They had a house of their own, in

which they were to pass the winter: he told me that several ships came every year, and mentioned an English vessel, called the Ocean. I never was able to ascertain the truth of these facts, of which the Americans, whom I have seen since, had no knowledge.

After what I had heard from the Spaniards, it was my intention to go to the Russian settlement of Bodega. I came in sight of it on the 13th, but fogs and calms hindered me from anchoring off the port till two days after. A boat with two Kodiaks immediately came out to us. From their manners and dress they looked more like European sailors, than like savages, whose name is hardly known in Europe. One of them spoke tolerable Spanish: he was among those who had been taken while hunting otters in Port St. Francisco, whence he had found means to escape. After giving them some breakfast, I went on shore with the one who spoke Spanish.

I found that only small vessels can enter the port, which is obstructed by a bar, where the depth is only one fathom and a half at low water. I understood that the Russian settlement was some leagues further north, at the mouth of a small river, which the Russians call Slavinska Koss, in latitude 38° 30', on a part of the coast where there is no anchorage. Mr. Koskoff, the governor of the settlement, had just departed for St. Francisco, on board the company's ship the Kutusoff. This account made me abandon the hope which had brought me to this place; I, therefore, returned on board, at noon, and continued my voyage for St. Francisco, where we arrived on the 16th, and found the Kutusoff at anchor, off the Presidio. I immediately landed, and met, on the beach, Don L. Arguello, who, as well as the other officers, received me as an old acquaintance, and expressed much pleasure at our return.

The very next day we began our labours. I went to the Presidio, and the mission, to take measures for a regular supply of bread, meat, and vegetables; a wholesome and restorative diet being necessary for the crew, six of whom were on the sick list, and the others more or less affected by our expedition to the North-West Coast. I likewise thought of laying in provisions for the continuation of our voyage, which seemed likely to be of much longer duration than was at first imagined.

The 19th being the anniversary of our departure from France, all work was suspended. I went to the Presidio, with the officers and crew, to attend divine service. The men had double rations for dinner. On the 21st, some parties were sent on shore to commence their labours, but, on their return, in the evening, we found that two of the men, named Paris and Ostein, had deserted. I immediately went with Mr.

Briole in search of them, but not meeting with any horses, we were obliged to give up the pursuit, our deserters being mounted. On the 28th and 29th, as we found that our sick recovered very slowly, I took advantage of the offer made by the fathers of the mission, and sent four of the sick to their infirmary, where Mr. Vimont attended them every day.

It was now that I had the first information of a plot, formed during our stay at Nitinat, to carry off the ship, after getting rid of the officers. Ostein, one of the two deserters, had been the author of it, but he found so few of the men wicked enough to commit such a dreadful crime, that he was obliged to give up his project. Circumstances not permitting me to investigate this affair, without injury to my employers, I thought it best to dissemble, and retain for the success of the expedition, men who had no claim to mercy.

The progress of our labours was considerably impeded by the numbers of our sick, so that this delay, and the duty of allowing time for the recovery of the patients, caused our stay at St. Francisco to be twice as long as I had intended. On the 11th, the Kutusoff sailed for New-Archangel.

On the 14th, our boatswain, Charles Renom, fell a victim to his disorder, notwithstanding the care of Mr. Vimont, and the attention he received at the mission, where all our sick were treated with the greatest kindness. He was buried the following day, and I attended his funeral, with two officers and six men. Renom was universally regretted, and his loss sincerely affected the crew.

On the 17th, Paris and Ostein were arrested by the soldiers, and brought on board, where they were put in irons. On the 19th, at noon, we unmoored; at three o'clock, the officers of the Presidio, who had come on board to take leave, returned on shore. In the night, the ship was rid of Ostein: his removal gave general satisfaction to the crew.

On the 20th of November we sailed from St. Francisco, for the Marquesas Islands, and, on the 22d of December, came in sight of the most eastern of the group, discovered by Mendana. We first saw Hatouhougou, (Hood Island, of Cook,) and, shortly after, Ohevahoa, (the Dominique, of Mendana,) and some land, which appeared detached from it, unless it is connected with the great island by some low land, and which can be no other than St. Pedro.

On the 23d, at four o'clock in the morning, I approached Raouga, and Hatouhougou appeared to the east-south-east. We sailed along the south of the first of these islands, at five miles distance. It seemed to us not very woody, but there are some fine groups of trees in the villages, which lie between

very steep hills. At nine o'clock, we saw, successively, the islands of Nukahiva to the west, and Rahopou to the south-south-west; we steered towards the former, and made every preparation to come to an anchor. In Comptroller's Bay we sailed along the coast, at the distance of a mile, doubling the little isle of Tahia-Hoy, which forms the eastern point of Port Anna Maria of Hergest; we perceived at the farther part of this fine anchoring place, a three-masted vessel, which immediately hoisted the American colours. We had hoisted ours on the coast. We tacked, to reach the anchoring place. At half-past four o'clock, a whale-boat came, rowed by the natives, which had on board an American, from the United States, of the name of Ross, who had resided several years in this country, where he acted as agent for the vessels which came for sanders-wood. He offered me his services, as well as that of Captain Cornelius Sowle, of the Resource, of New York, which we saw at anchor. After having given me some general information, Mr. Ross took leave, promising to give my thanks to Captain Sowle, and to assure him, that I should be happy to render him any service. Soon after, the captain himself came, and repeated his obliging offers. At eight o'clock, we anchored in eleven fathoms, on a bottom of fine gray sand, five cables from the shore. While I was conversing with Captain Sowle, who explained the reasons which had induced him to exclude the women from his ship, one of my people came to inform me, that about fifty of them had got on board my vessel, having swam to it, and entered by means of the ends of ropes hanging down. Notwithstanding the prudent advice of Mr. Sowle, I did not think fit to drive them away; and, besides, I should not have known what means to adopt to expel such an enemy, who was already in possession of the deck.

On the 24th, I visited the old chief Keatanouï, surnamed Porter, who, in this country, where there is no acknowledged authority, enjoyed all the respect that affection and esteem can give.

I found this good old man under a shed, on the sea-shore, on a platform, covered with large pebbles. He made me sit down by him, on a mat, and seemed delighted at the arrival of a ship from the country of good muskets; for he knew France only as the place where those brought by Captain Sowle had been manufactured. What I told him of the quantity of arms, powder, &c. that we had on board, gave him great satisfaction. The old chief having had some cocoa-nuts brought to refresh me, we conversed, by the aid of an English sailor, who had lived several years in the island. We were

soon surrounded by natives. Some women came under the shed, a greater number of men sat down on the platform, or remained standing around. The men were of a superior stature to most Europeans, and excelled them no less in the perfection of their forms. Except a girdle, they had no clothes on, unless we consider as such the tattooing, which covers the bodies of the adults. The women, in general, are about as tall as the French women, very graceful, well made, and have agreeable and regular features. Taïa, the daughter of the chief, was remarkable for an agreeable figure, pretty countenance, and mild looks. The colour of their skin is a tint of bright citron. With the exception of the oil, with which they rub the skin, the women, as well as the men, were remarkable for their cleanliness. Their dress is composed of a girdle, descending to the knees, and a mantle fastened over the left shoulder; both are of a stuff made of bark, as well as a kind of cap, which covers the hair, and very much becomes them.

Christmas-Day was a holiday. Captain Sowle dined on board. The original object of his expedition had been the seal fishery, but some delays in fitting him out, having hindered him from sailing in time, for the season of 1816, his owners had given him some muskets, to exchange for sanders wood, till the time for the fishery came. He had collected about sixty tons of wood during five months' stay in this Archipelago. He was on the point of departing to follow the principal object of his voyage. What I learnt from him, confirming the information I had already received, on the advantage of visiting the islands to the windward, where it is easy to obtain, at a small expense, articles which may be exchanged at Nukahiva, I resolved on making this excursion, as soon as I could have the company of Mr. Ross.

The Resource sailed, on the 27th, for China, where she was to dispose of her sanders-wood, before she went to the fishery. Captain Sowle took charge of a packet for France, and a letter for Manilla, both of which he was to leave at Macao.

The departure of the Resource leaving Mr. Ross at liberty, I was not willing to put off my visit to the windward islands any longer. We sailed the next day, having on board, besides Mr. Ross, five natives his boatmen, and two Englishmen, who had lived for some time in these islands, and had asked me for a passage, with the intention of making some purchases. At two o'clock, on the morning of the 30th, we doubled the eastern extremity of Rahopou, and steered for Ohevahoa, which we saw in the east, at day break. Shortly after, we saw Taouhata (Santa Christana) to the south east. Intending first to visit Ohevahoa, which is the most fertile island in the Archipelago, I

steered so as to pass into the channel, which separates it from Tahouhata, to reach the anchorage of Taogou, (the Ontario of the Americans) which Ross pointed out as the most favourable for our plan. As soon as we had anchored, the vessel was surrounded by natives, principally from the west part, both in boats and swimming. I went with Mr. Ross into the whale-boat, visited the village of Taoa, at the bottom of a large bay, to the west of Port Ontario. Only three months before, a boat belonging to the Flying Fish, which we had seen at Callao, had been taken by the natives of this place. The unhappy crew had atoned for their imprudence with their lives, and their corpses had become the prey of their assassins. Ross, who two years before had resided several weeks at this village, did not think fit to trust himself to his ancient hosts, and we rested on our oars within musket shot of the shore, which was soon covered with Indians of both sexes. Several swam round the boats; most of them were women and girls, who, though not so handsome as those of Nukahiva, were, however. very pretty, and I could not imagine that such agreeable countenances could belong to Cannibals. The men, whom curiosity, or, perhaps, some criminal motive, drew round us, were equal, in their stature and appearance, to those of Nukahiva, but their limbs were more vigorous, and their countenances more savage; their skin was of a darker colour, and they were more tattooed. As they could not supply us with either sanders wood or hogs, we staid but a very short time.

At six o'clock we went in the whale boat of Ross, accompanied with the long boat, to the creek of Atouona, which is separated from the port only by a slip of land, which closes it on the north-west side; the Indians expected us there with several lots of sanders wood, of which we soon obtained nine quintals for as many pounds of powder. The boat returned at seven o'clock. In order to keep up a good understanding it had been necessary to admit some young girls, who had expressed a desire to become acquainted with our people.

The same regulations were observed during the night as on the north-west coast, except that the nets were not put up: the proas, with outriggers, used by these islanders, and their awkwardness in managing them, giving us no reason to fear their boarding us.

On the 1st of January, 1818, our boats went in the morning to Atouona, and brought eight or nine hundred pounds of sanders wood and several hogs.

I set out early on the 2d with Mr. Ross, in his whale boat, to visit the creeks to the east of the port. The long-boat accompanied us, carrying muskets and other things for traffic.

At 7 o'clock we reached the little creek Hanahehe, where we cast anchor. The valley seems to extend into the interior and is sprinkled with houses down to the beach; few Indians however were assembled. Some of both sexes swam to our boats. Ross negotiated with them, but after waiting three hours for the hogs they promised, we proceeded to Hanamate. This creek affords better shelter than the first; however they are of no importance on account of the proximity of Port Ontario, which is preferable in every respect. Our expedition was not fruitless, for we got thirty hogs, part of which had been brought from Hanahehe; we paid three muskets for the whole. We visited Hanamaté again the next day, but though Mr. Ross had taken measures the day before to prevent all delay, it was a long time before we could collect the cargo, which was again composed of hogs; Mr. Ross went on shore with his friend to remove some difficulties. Seeing many women and children on the beach, I determined to follow him; I was soon surrounded by women, who were in general taller and more robust than those of Nukahiva; but they were not so well made, and had less pleasing countenances.

Ross returned after a short absence and declared I had acted imprudently, notwithstanding the security which the proximity of the armed boat afforded. A young American named Charles Person, a native of Boston, who had lived several months with an old chief, the father of Ross's friend, had come to Hanamaté to see the latter; I invited him on board, hoping to obtain some information from him; he greatly praised his hosts, but it must be confessed that he possessed nothing that could tempt them. The next day I again went ashore with Ross expecting to find wood and provisions which had been promised us. Considering the bad condition of the only light boat which we had left, I desired to obtain the whale boat of the Flying Fish, which the Indians had drawn on shore after they had murdered the crew. The boats were soon surrounded by Indians of both sexes, who swam to them, most of them were young women, who sported like Nereids, diving and swimming in all kinds of attitudes; and never failed to ask a recompense for the amusement they had afforded us; a piece of biscuit contented them. The old acquaintances of Ross had also come to visit him, and bring him proofs of their regard. They invited him to go on shore, but their friendly outside concealed perfidious designs. One of Mr. Ross's boatmen, who had gone to examine the state of the whale boat which I wanted to purchase, brought word that the Indians had hidden some arms in a spot covered by the rocks, and that without doubt they would have turned them against us, had we acced-

ed to their treacherous invitation. We quitted these cannibals without having attained the object of our visit.

On the 5th we took the usual precautions at night. The sky was very cloudy and dark, and heavy rain fell almost without intermission. At half past one in the morning the dog barked furiously; soon after we perceived that the head-fast of the long-boat had been cut; another was immediately fixed, and double vigilance exerted. At a quarter past two both head-fasts were cut at the same time, under the very eyes of the watch, whose attention, excited by the first attempt, was particularly directed towards the boat. But the darkness prevented them from seeing any thing but the motion of the boat; it was still near enough for them to leap in and secure it. The crew was immediately on the alert. I had some musket shots fired upon both banks, though the most profound silence prevailed. The long-boat was instantly put out to examine the ropes. We had already found that the small bower cable was cut. We continued to keep good watch till day-break; two men remained in the boat, which was moored alongside. As soon as we could see the buoy of the bower anchor, we immediately took it on board.

Our short stay had procured us, besides some vegetables, 4000 lb. of sanders wood, and above 80 hogs. Having accomplished my chief object, I would not prolong my stay among these perfidious savages, but resolved to return to Taïa Hoy, without touching at the other islands of the south of this archipelago, which are all inhabited by tribes as treacherous as those of Oiswahoa; besides, the sanders wood is inferior to that of Nukahiva.

While we were preparing for our departure, an old chief whom we had seen several times, with some other Indians, brought us some hundred weight of sanders wood, and some hogs. In order to discover the authors of the hostile attempt which had been made upon us, I pretended to believe that he was concerned in it, though his now coming was a proof of his innocence. The old man evinced, at this accusation, a degree of terror which it would be more difficult to describe than to account for. He protested his innocence, and said that the people of Atouna had been guilty of the crime, in which he could not have taken any part, as he belonged to a hostile and distant valley. This assertion was confirmed by the other Indians. On their departure, all seemed to think themselves happy in not having felt the effects of our vengeance; perhaps it was from their fear of reprisals, that we obtained for a pistol, the articles which they had brought. At one o'clock we sailed from the port of Taogou, and at nine, being to leeward

of Hanamaté, and pretty near shore, Mr. Ross landed his young fellow-countryman. On our return to Taïa Hoy, we immediately set about the operations which the damage the vessel had sustained had rendered necessary. During the first few days after our return, we obtained some thousand pounds of wood in exchange for hogs. But this traffic was of short duration: the time of the great solemnities, when there is an enormous consumption of these animals, was still some months distant.

The weather, which since our return had been generally rainy and windy, being pretty fine, I went on the 11th with Mr. Ross to Hacahouy, two leagues to the west. The Americans call this place Louis Bay, after the first of their captains who entered it, though he had been preceded by the celebrated captain Krusenstern, who denominated it Tchitchakoff, a name which will probably never be pronounced by any inhabitant of the Marquesas. We came out by the passage within the rocks on the west, which is not practicable except for boats; we passed before the creek of Chaoutoupa, separated from this port by a slip of land. At the farther end are some huts, and scattered groups of cocoa and bread-fruit trees. From that place to Hacahouy the coast is steep and bold, above a hundred feet high, with hardly an interval where it is possible to land. In the same manner as to the east of Taïa Hoy, there are often parallel strata of various colours, and volcanic rocks, some of which rise to the height of the coast. While sailing past, it is impossible to avoid remarking one situated about half way. The perpetual breaking of the sea, has formed a deep cavern, in which the waves, dashing with prodigious force, produce a detonation like that of a large piece of artillery; while part of the waters issuing through a vent which the waves have made in the vault of the cavern, rises to a considerable height, where it disperses in spray. This double phenomenon induced our people to give this rock the name of the Whale.

The creek of Hacahouy terminates, to the south, a valley which we traversed in the opposite direction for more than a league. To the west and east it is confined by two ramparts of rock, which, on the sea-shore, and for more than half a league inland, narrow it to three or four hundred toises at the most. The mountain on the east side afterwards declines, and taking a bend, permits the valley to extend towards the north-east. The other is joined to the south with the steep coast, and stretches inland towards the north. Both of them rise far above the tallest trees in the valley. A considerable stream, which runs between the village and the mountain on the east,

gives extraordinary fertility to this happy valley. All the ground which is not occupied by the numerous huts of the natives, is entirely covered with various plants, cocoas, bread-fruit trees, banians, and other large tropical trees. Some produce food, which is equally agreeable and salutary; others furnish materials for building, or for the few clothes which custom and vanity, rather than the climate, render necessary to the inhabitants. Lastly, they afford a cool shade, which is the most agreeable retreat during the long heats.

The Indians of both sexes are no less favoured than those of Taïa Hoy. I remarked a greater proportion of individuals of colossal stature, and, in general, they were of a stouter make. The complexion of the women seemed to me to approach nearer to the white, than that of their neighbours, a difference which may be accounted for by the almost continued shade which covers the valley. Though Ross assured me that these people were not so good as those in our port, and that we must not trust them, we were every where received in the most satisfactory manner. In many huts which we visited, in search of sanders-wood, they offered us excellent cocoa-nuts. Going alone into one of the best-looking huts, I found two young women, the handsomest I saw in that part of the world. Their curiosity, and that of their female neighbours, by whom I was soon surrounded, being excited by my dress and complexion, I had some difficulty in escaping from the minute investigation which they were disposed to make. Before we departed, we made a collation of the provisions we had brought on shore, and the fruits of the country, in a little hut on the sea-side, under a delicious shade. It was occupied by a widow and her daughter, by whom we were received in the most affable manner.

Two double canoes from Ohévahoa arrived on the 14th, which did not enter till they had cruised for some time, and announced their arrival by blowing large shells, which produce a sound similar to our bagpipes. They were hauled upon the beach with much ceremony, and great rejoicings, by the inhabitants of the neighbouring valleys, who came in great numbers, dressed in their finest style. During the day, these strangers, to the number of about forty, brought us, besides some pieces of cloth, gourds, and other productions of their country, a poem, in honour of the eldest son of the young chief, the grandson of Keatanoui Porter, and other effusions of their poetical genius, which they sung to monotonous airs, something resembling our church music. On the 25th, we saw a great number of women come from the different valleys, who repaired to the hut of an old chief, named Pahou-

tehe, and, by strangers, called the elephant, on account of his enormous size. I learned from Ross, that this extraordinary concourse of women was on account of the desperate situation of his wife, to whom they were going to celebrate the mournful ceremonies, of which I shall speak in the sequel.

Early in the morning of the 9th of February, I went on shore with Partarieux and Ross, to make an excursion to the highest of the mountains, which close the valleys on the north-east of the port. We were much fatigued by climbing up the steep path which leads to the summit. In this excursion, I had occasion to admire the agility with which the natives passed the most dangerous places. Though often loaded with fifty or sixty pounds of sanders-wood, they advanced much more lightly than we who carried nothing. Happily, the bushes and reeds which border the precipices, render the passage less dangerous. Half way up the mountain there is a spring of delicious water, near which we breakfasted. Some of the natives, whom we met, were very courteous and obliging. When we reached the summit, which commands a view of the coast and the interior, the most beautiful prospect presented itself to the view. To the east, we saw Comptroller's Bay, the great valley of the Taïpis, that of the Happas, whose huts we saw; the first one, the other two leagues distant. On this side, there is a road not so bad as that by which we had ascended, though still very steep. This was the way that Captain Porter passed, when marching against the Taïpis, and where the natives of Taïa Hoy, his allies, brought up a cannon; an enterprize that must have been as difficult to these savages, as the passage of Mount Saint Bernard to our armies.

The strangers from Ohevahoa departed on the 16th for their own country. They had derived good profits from their merchandize, but more from the productions of their muse, which had obtained for them the most hospitable reception, and numerous presents from the amateurs, who frequented their courts. These representations were very often repeated, particularly at the commencement of their visit. The multitude of both sexes, who came from the most distant valleys, and met early in the morning, made me conjecture that the fête was announced beforehand, and the time and place appointed. The latter was always one of those enclosures, which are in all the villages, in the form of a rectangle, from three to four hundred feet long, and about a quarter as much in breadth, surrounded by a parapet breast high, ten feet thick, faced and covered with large pebbles, and sometimes with flags, hewn out of a very soft stone. There is often a row of trees on the inside, not far from the parapet, and on the outside there are

always several avenues, which form agreeable promenades, the coolness of which enhances the advantages of these amphitheatres. The musicians assemble at one of the ends, where they squat down. The principal person of the band, or the poet himself, sings, first alone, each couplet, which is immediately repeated by the others in chorus. Some accompany themselves by clapping their hands, others holding the left fore arm crossed upon the breast, strike with the right hand both the breast and the external part of the arm at the joint. They strike so hard that each blow produces a very loud sound, and they sometimes bruise themselves so as to take the skin from the arm. They likewise have large tamtams (a kind of drum) the only instrument I saw among them. When they reach the place where the concert is to be held, most of the amateurs lay their presents at the feet of the musicians. Both sexes always put on their finest and most valuable ornaments. All their new things are kept for these occasions, when they appear to be dressed with the most studied neatness; but the stranger is disagreeably undeceived when he becomes sensible, on going near them, that they have been very liberal in the use of train oil.

Up to the middle of the month we had procured only 10,000 pounds of sanders wood; but little remaining in the valleys about the port, I thought of procuring some at Hacahouy; for which district I set off early in the morning of the 17th with one whale-boat, accompanied by Mr. Ross in his. We had an agreeable and speedy passage, and were well received by the friends of Ross, especially by a chief who had visited us on board, who was no less remarkable for his stature, seven feet high, than for the perfect proportion of every part of his colossal person. We extended our researches for above two leagues in the interior, and went into about twenty huts, the proprietors of which had sanders wood. Most of these huts were built on the right bank of a pretty stream, through which we waded. We took a breakfast of cocoa and biscuit in the habitation of a friend of Ross. Returning we chose another way, and visited the huts which we had not yet seen. We passed again by that of the colossal chief, who had prepared for us a meal, consisting of bread-fruit and cocoa nuts mixed together and formed into a paste, on which Ross's boatmen regaled.

We afterwards returned to the sea side, where I commenced a bargain for sanders wood. On this occasion an act of inconsiderate confidence on my part had nearly been followed by fatal consequences. One of the owners of the sanders wood had come with me in the whale boat, to see the powder

which I offered him for his wood: after having concluded the bargain, I thought I might agree to his request, to take his powder on shore, and the more so as the wood was on the beach ready to be embarked: when Ross saw the powder in the hands of the Indian, he openly expressed his opinion of my imprudence; in fact, when about half of the wood was embarked, the Indian, under the pretence that he had not been sufficiently paid, refused to deliver the rest. He was seated near a heap of wood, holding in his hand a kind of club. The thoughts which agitated him gave to his countenance an expression of ferocity, which it was as difficult to mistake as to see without shuddering. After having strongly represented to him through Ross, the injustice of his claims; judging by his silence and his countenance that stronger arguments were necessary, I called to the whale-boat to approach, and the men to have their arms ready, but not to make use of them without orders. I immediately returned to the Indian, and knocking the club out of his hand with a billet of wood, with which I had armed myself, I demanded his *ultimatum*. He made no answer, but his gloomy silence and ferocious look indicated that he was agitated by the most violent passion. While he was divided between the temptation o cupidity and the fear of being punished, his father, who w resent, fearing the consequences of his obstinacy, and see... me resolved to maintain by force the justice of my right, took a handful of wood and threw it into the boat. His example was followed by several other savages, and in an instant the wood was embarked. I congratulated myself on having succeeded without coming to extremities; but the Indian, enraged at not having been able to derive any advantage from my imprudence, meditated a cruel revenge. After having carried the powder home he returned armed with a club, of the height of a man, and thick in proportion, such as the natives often use as a staff, and, while I was walking on the beach, not fearing any evil, came behind me, holding the club with both hands, and had already raised it over my head, when his father darted forward in time to seize his arm, and to lead him away. I did not learn this fact till Ross told it me as we were returning; the noise made by the Indians on the beach hindered me from attending to what passed behind me. This man, whom Ross described as one of the most wicked and dangerous in these islands, was one of the very few who had two wives. These were the two handsome and remarkably fair persons, whom I have before-mentioned; and whatever might be the violence of his passion, it is certain, at least, that jealousy had no part in his resentment towards me.

I had much reason to acknowledge on this occasion the good offices of Jahouhania, priest of one of the valleys near Hacahoui. We had been for some time acquainted; he had visited me on board, and asked me to change names with him; he was afterwards known by the name of Roké, as the islanders could not pronounce my name, I had reason to suppose that this was not a step dictated by vanity or interest in this man, who had every appearance of a good character. My friend afterwards visited me from time to time, and brought me some presents; among others, a beautiful fan of that country: he never failed to make me remark the exhausted state of the bottle of brandy which he had received before.

We made three other expeditions to Hacahoui, which produced about eleven thousand pounds of sanders wood, generally larger than that of Taïa-Hoy. All passed very peaceably in our intercourse with the natives; we always treated upon the strand, within reach of the boats. I never omitted these precautions after the advice of Ross, who told me no strangers had ever been so far into the valley of Hacahoui as I had.

On the 25th we had on board four hundred and twenty quintals of sanders wood, which took up above eighty tons of our room, and, together with our other goods, filled the vessel in such a manner that we were obliged to store part of it in the lockers, and even to leave some upon deck.

The repairs, necessary to enable the ship to go to sea, were retarded by the bad weather, towards the end of the month, so that notwithstanding my desire to reach the north-west coast as soon as possible, we were not ready before the 27th.

Mr. Siepki, our third officer, was landed at his request, and on the certificate of Mr. Vimont, that his health which had been bad from the beginning of the voyage, was such that he could not proceed without danger; I then settled with Ross, with whose services I had been satisfied.

We weighed anchor at half past nine on the 28th of February.

The Marquesas are a good port for vessels, which, after having doubled Cape Horn, may have occasion to visit some parts of Australasia; for whalers which visit the great southern ocean, and for vessels going to the north-west coast, which may not be able, for urgent reasons, to go to the Sandwich islands, which are in every respect preferable; lastly, the Marquesas are the natural port where those ships may stop to refresh, which are bound from the ports of South America to China, and of those which, sailing from the north-west coast, double Cape Horn.

Notwithstanding the facilities which the port of Taïa-Hoy

affords for taking in wood and water, and the confidence which the peaceful conduct of the natives up to this present time naturally inspires, that of Taogou in Oevahoa seems to be preferable, especially for those navigators whose only motive for putting in here is to obtain refreshments. The cascade on the north-west side, and the little wood surrounding it, will supply them with wood and water, with this advantage, that the vessel, when moored athwart the watering-place, will have its parties under the protection of the musketry, in case of an attack by the Indians. Besides, a watch at the mast head might observe all their motions, the country being absolutely naked in that part, with the exception of the little wood, the trees of which do not stand very close together. It would be proper to keep on board, till the departure of the vessel, some daughters of the chiefs, who are as ready to visit strangers as those of the inferior classes. The boats, well armed, and under the direction of a prudent officer, may go into the creeks on the east side, and collect refreshments. Besides the hogs, which may be procured in any number, at the rate of ten for a musket, this isle produces sugar-canes, potatoes, gourds, bananas, small oranges, the pulp of which is red, and several kinds of fruit, besides the bread-fruit, which, with the cocoa, is the chief food of the inhabitants. There is also a kind of nut called *ahi*, and the *ty*, a root, the juice of which is of the same quality, and almost as abundant as that of the sugar-cane, and which, baked under the ashes, is an agreeable and wholesome food. Vessels moored on the coast will probably receive from the natives, as we did, a quantity of these articles, which it is not possible to procure from Nukahiva, where, except some cocoa nuts, nothing is to be had but wood and water. If the object of visiting the Marquesas is to get sanders wood, putting in at Oevahoa will still be of use, though the wood is of inferior quality, and many articles may be obtained there which can be disposed of to advantage at Nukahiva.

This last island produces the best sanders wood in the Archipelago. Captain Rogers, an American, was the first who took any, as an article of commerce, after having discovered this precious wood when passing near a fire, by the smell proceeding from some pieces which the Indians had thrown into it. In 1810 he procured above 260 tons in exchange for goods, the primitive worth of which was about 1000 piastres, composed of hatchets and other utensils, and some whale's teeth which happened to be on board, one of which was then worth three or four tons. He sold his cargo in China, at the rate of 20 piastres per pickel, and returned for a second cargo, with

the value of 3000 piastres in articles of exchange. This time he had ivory, which he fashioned on board into the form of whale's teeth, not having been able to procure them in sufficient quantities. This fraud produced him a large profit; but the natives soon discovered it, and cannot now be deceived by it. A few weeks were then sufficient to obtain a cargo, which was sure to be sold with advantage, both on account of the quality and size of the wood. Now all is changed; the exportation of nearly 1800 tons has almost exhausted the resources of this little island; the small quantity of sanders wood which is still in the interior, is crooked, stunted, and very small, most of the pieces not exceeding two inches in diameter. From the results of the researches of Capt. Sowle, and our own experience, no more than 10 or 12 tons of sanders wood can be collected in a month. With some comparatively trifling exceptions, the natives take nothing in exchange but muskets, powder, or other ammunition. These articles must retain their value on account of the continued state of hostility in which the natives live. Whale's teeth are not valued, unless they are of the enormous size of three fingers' breadth in diameter. The teeth of the black fish and seals are also of some value when they are strong and well sorted. Hatchets, and some other utensils are in request, but iron, in general, is not much esteemed. Handkerchiefs, blue and white linen, are in fashion, chiefly among the women. They have also the usual predilection of their sex for looking-glasses. Plumes of feathers, especially red ones, are much sought after.

All these articles, however, are only accessaries in the traffic, the basis of which is arms and powder. The comparative value of these articles with respect to sanders wood has declined; a musket some time ago was worth a ton of wood. The following are the terms on which we concluded our bargains. For one musket, 500 lbs. of sandal wood; for two pounds and a quarter of powder, 200 lbs.; for a hatchet, 45 lbs.; a whale's tooth, 200 lbs. Of these last we disposed only of the finest, and there were none of a large size among those which we had received at Callao.

There is reason to distrust the whites who are met with in these islands, most of them are deserted sailors, who have all the vices of civilization, though without the advantages of education. Notwithstanding their small number, they do not a little contribute to make the Indians lose the good qualities, which still distinguished them at the close of the last century, according to the reports of navigators of that period. I make an exception in favour of Ross, who was sent to these islands by Mr. Wilcock, consul of the United States at Canton, to

facilitate the traffic in sanders wood, to the vessels of his nation.

According to the accounts of Mr. Ross, the natives, only a very few years ago, were still such as they are represented by Quiros, Marchand, &c. Their moral character has since greatly changed, for it is incontestable, that mildness and humanity were the basis of their character, before their intercourse with the Europeans. Ross, who had better opportunity of knowing them than any other, does them this justice. But a few years have made a deplorable change in all the island. Even at Wahitou, the sons of those whom the sight of the blood of their countrymen had not induced to any excesses towards the imprudent strangers whom they might consider as his assassins, perfidiously seized, in 1815, an American boat, the crew of which they massacred and devoured; for, notwithstanding the mildness of their manners, the inhabitants have long been cannibals. They are, certainly, the finest race of men I have ever seen, as well for their lofty stature and fine figures, as for their personal strength. None are ever deformed. I observed among them some marked differences in the colour of the skin, the features of the face, and the hair; but those who were so distinguished were not sufficiently numerous to give reason to suppose that there are two races. Some were a pale black, others are less tanned than many natives of Provence. The women are of the ordinary stature, pretty, and very well made; they are inclining to plumpness, their countenances lively and agreeable, and they have most beautiful teeth. There are some whose complexion would not be thought dark in the south of France, and they take the greatest care to preserve it; they never go out of doors during the great heat, and if they are obliged to expose themselves, they shade themselves from the sun with their fan, and the stuff in which they envelope themselves. Though I am an admirer of them, I cannot agree with Quiros, when he gives them the preference to the beauties of Lima, who, to the perfection of form, add the charm of more delicate features, and a more intelligent physiognomy. However, the portrait which our French navigators give of them is not too highly flattered.

The men generally wear a piece of stuff, extracted from the bark of a kind of mulberry-tree, which they wrap several times round the waist. Some of the islanders, but they are the petits-maîtres of the country, wear a piece of cloth, in the manner of a mantle, like the women. In cool mornings, some wrap themselves up in the mats, which they sleep on. They shave the head from the middle of the forehead to the

nape of the neck, and, on each side of this stripe, which is about an inch broad, they wear the hair tied up in a kind of bow, and the ends floating on their shoulders. On great occasions, they adorn their heads with a diadem of feathers, of cock's tail, or other birds. At Oevahoa we saw a chief with a diadem of tortoise-shell, incrusted with ivory and mother-of-pearl, in pretty good taste.

The dress of the women, consists of a girdle coming down to the knee, and a large piece of stuff, with which they cover their shoulders, and which falls rather lower; but they use it only when they go out of their huts, for at home they lay it aside. On extraordinary occasions they use a very fine handkerchief, of which they make a cap, that sits close to the head, and hides the hair. The corners, which are turned back, form a kind of bow, which completes this very becoming headdress. Few of them have long hair; almost all have it cut short, even with the shoulders. They often wear necklaces made of little bunches of flowers, small cucumbers, &c. They have also, for particular occasions, necklaces of seals'-teeth, and ear-rings made of whale's-teeth. The largest are the handsomest; there are some above two inches in diameter, but those usually worn are not above naif that size. Glass beads and bugles are out of fashion. Some women hang round their necks ivory, shells, and coral of various shapes, often in the form of a large tooth.

The men have beards like the Europeans, but they never preserve them entire. Some wear mustachios, some only a few scattered hairs, but most pull them out.

Among other singularities of these people, a man is not allowed to wear, or even to take up, any part of a woman's dress, or the mat upon which she sleeps. No individual of either sex is permitted to sit down upon a pillow, which the women alone have the privilege of using. They believe that a violation of these customs is punished by disease or death. They have a kind of superstitious respect for the hair of the head; I saw a woman carefully pick up and swallow some, which she perceived on the ground: Ross told me it was their custom. They do not like strangers to touch their children's hair. When friends meet they touch noses, but this is a testimony of friendship which is very rarely given, and I received this mark of kindness only from my friend Roké. I saw very few persons who were tattooed, according to a regular design; it should seem that, in the face especially, they avoid symmetry, and like contrast. It is seldom that both hands are tattooed, and still more seldom that they are both done in the same manner. The women, in general, tattoo only the hands

and feet, but there are some that have a circle on the lobe of the ear, in the middle of which is the hole for the ear-ring. Many women are also marked with a kind of epaulette, or they have on the arms or thigh the figure of a lizard or a fish. Some Americans informed me, that they had seen at Magdalen Island, a woman of lofty stature, who was tattooed from head to foot, like the men. Those whose tattooing is of the same pattern, or alike in the principal features, such as a particular mark upon the nose, over the eyes, &c., form a kind of association or fraternity, and assist each other in time of need, like our freemasons; the choice of the tattooing is, therefore, an important affair.

These islanders seldom resist the temptation which the sight of any valuable article excites in them, and it is, therefore, very dangerous to expose them to it. The young women whom we received on board, and not only those of the lower classes, but even those of the highest rank, made no scruple of committing thefts, even after having received presents, with which they seemed quite satisfied. Among other things, they one day carried off my hat, with two or three books, which had been put in to stretch it: they were fond of taking books, for the sake of the paper, of which the natives make cartridges. In general, it is now very imprudent to venture on shore any where, except at Taïa-Hoy (Port Anna-Maria), and, even there, the islanders always steal when they have an opportunity, but, at least, they use no violence. They do not think stealing dishonourable; and this action, which is infamous amongst us, fixes no disgrace upon the individual who has committed it, unless he is caught in the fact; he is then looked upon as a bungler, and that is all. If the lawful proprietor finds his property in the hands of the thief, or elsewhere, he has not the right to take it back, and he can only recover it by clandestinely taking it in his turn. What is still more surprising than this want of police, is, that quarrels very seldom ensue; and the people have naturally so much mildness in their character, that murders never happen on these occasions. According to the testimony of Ross, and what I saw myself, no chief has sufficient authority to cause stolen goods to be restored. The only means is, to arrest the robber, or one of his relations, or even one of the chiefs; and the restitution of the property is to be ascribed to the attachment borne them, and not to their authority.

I must say, to the praise of these islanders, that assassination is equally unknown among them, unless it be inspired by the spirit of vengeance, or of party, which brings it within the class of homicides, authorized by the law of nations, in a

country where every one has the right to make war on his neighbour. On the other hand, it must be confessed, that, for some time past, there is not an island, the inhabitants of which have not been guilty of the greatest excesses towards strangers. The introduction of fire-arms, lessening their fear of the whites, and their ideas of their superiority, has produced an unfortunate change in their manners; and, when their interest is concerned, they do not hesitate to murder a stranger. The inhabitants of Taïa-Hoy are an honourable exception to this remark, though several murders have been committed there; but, if the natives have sometimes laid aside the natural mildness of their character, they have been impelled to it by revolting conduct, or by perfidious insinuations. We ourselves have traversed these valleys, carrying with us articles highly valued by them; we shewed them openly, without experiencing any trouble or running any danger: it is to be understood, however, that they steal every thing that is not well secured.

Except at Carnicobar, in the Bay of Bengal, I have no where seen a picture of happiness comparable to that which this country exhibited. Nature lavishes on its fortunate inhabitants every thing that is necessary; and what is no less happy, she has given to their country no fictitious riches, none of those precious productions which are sought after by civilized nations, and which often bring misfortune upon the country where they are to be found. Their habitations are surrounded by cocoa and bread-fruit trees, which require no attention, and which afford wholesome, abundant, and agreeable food, while the trunk, bark, and leaves supply them with materials for their clothing and habitations. The Marquesas being much more healthy than the Nicobar Islands, their productions more rich and more various, their inhabitants would, doubtless, be more happy, if they did not diminish their domestic felicity, by licentiousness of manners and propensity to theft. This vice, which is not repressed by any fears of authority, induces them to steal the fruit, which does not grow high enough to be safe from their rapacity. Their mutual distrust of each other prevents them from applying to the easy cultivation of several wholesome vegetables, which grow in abundance in other islands, where there is a better police. It leads them to use the precaution of gathering the bananas before they are ripe, and even before they are full grown.

The only inhabited parts are those which are provided with cocoa and bread-fruit trees. These plantations are almost always due to nature, the natives seldom taking the trouble to plant these precious trees, in places where they do not grow

spontaneously. The lands are private property: the chiefs have considerable estates. They generally reside on the sea-shore, and let out the lands situated in the upper part of the valleys, for a small rent, paid in the produce of the soil. The will of the two parties alone determines the duration of the lease. The proprietors, as may naturally be supposed, have much influence over the farmers, who may be considered as their vassals; but this voluntary vassalage is an interchange of good offices between the chief and his farmers. This is the principal source of the authority of the chiefs, for, otherwise, they have no influence in their valleys and in their tribes, except such as bodily or moral qualities confer among equals. But there is, in reality, no public authority; no one owes an account of his actions to any person whatever; and he who in any manner injures another, has no fear, except from the person injured, or from his friends. Men possessing but little land, are often seen to enjoy more respect and influence than some chiefs; for instance, Ross's friend, Agomohiti. The chiefs have no ornament, or mark of distinction, except in the manner of wearing the hair. They do not adopt the custom of dividing the hair, and shaving the head in the manner before described, but only fasten it in a knot behind; nor is even this distinction exclusively reserved for them, for I saw some who, though not chiefs, had preserved their hair entire.

The property of the land is not always secure to the possessors; it sometimes happens, that the strong seizes on the property of the weak; a powerful relation on that of an infant heir. I was witness to the difference excited by the unjust claims of an uncle upon the estate of his nephew, son of the deceased protector of Ross. A kind of family council had been held early in the morning, which, however, decided nothing. We arrived shortly after it broke up. Besides the relations and friends, the inhabitants of that part of the valley had assembled in divers groups; almost all were armed with their large clubs; some had lances of a hard wood. They disputed, and reproached each other at times, the dispute grew warm, so that it appeared they were going to come to blows; but the whole passed over without bloodshed. The only blows given were by an aunt of the child, to one of his cousins; the latter had the worst of it: it was all over in a moment. This woman, who was young, and of tall stature, supported, as well as her sister, the interest of her nephew; both acted their part very well in the midst of this confusion, and did not seem to be out of their place. When the quarrel was at the highest, several of the competitors were seen to beat down the bushes with their clubs, as if to try the strength of their arms, or to

clear the field of battle. Some men and many women were spectators, and remained, for the most part, at a little distance. None of them, however, manifested any fear, in case the parties should come to blows. The protectors of the infant being the greater number, his adversary appeared to relax from a part of his pretensions. But, some days after, having taken measures from which he expected more success, he returned to the gates of his nephew. This new attempt was not more successful than the preceding: Ross having collected in the night, without the usurper's knowledge, the partisans of his friend's son, the uncle did not venture to try the chance of arms, and he was again driven from the land, of which he now demanded only a part. His unjust projects having completely failed on this side, he turned against one of his brothers, older than himself, and blind, who, after having seconded him in his attempt against their nephew, not being so well supported as the child, was obliged to take refuge in a corner of his estate, and abandon the rest to his younger brother. It may be observed, that Keatonouï Porter, though first chief, took no part in these quarrels. The relations or friends of the parties interested alone interfered. In the wars between the tribes, the prisoners, without distinction of age or sex, are put to death, and eaten, except those whom the priest thinks fit to consecrate to the gods, and who are buried, after they are put to death. Neither women nor children are ever present at these horrible repasts; this privilege is preserved for warriors, and young men who are already tattooed. In the civil wars between one valley and another, or between two families of the same tribe, the prisoners are not eaten. I have been convinced, by my own observation, that the children are not only spared, but may pass in entire safety over the lands, and before the door of the enemies of their father.

At the time of the great fêtes, all hostilities are suspended, during the preparation, and for three days after their celebration; even enemies are well received; and to cross the whole country they have only to say that they are going to the fête of such and such a valley: they are hospitably treated; they share in the entertainments and the diversions, together with the people of the tribe who pays the expense. They usually go away in the night of the third day; those, however, who are detained for some hours beyond the time, are spared. The inhabitants of Taïa-Hoy treated those of the other villages as enemies; they killed and eat all those who landed on their coast. It is but a few years since this state of permanent hostility has ceased to exist: humanity owes this obligation to the old chief Keatonouï. At present they are at war only

with Rahouga. The inhabitants of this isle are divided into two tribes, between which the greatest animosity exists. Nukahiva takes part in their quarrels. The Hapas being the allies of one tribe, and the Havans of the other, they make expeditions, which are always injurious to the island. Each party carries away the hogs, and the produce of the harvest, belonging to his adversary, cuts down the cocoa and bread-fruit trees, in a word, commits all kinds of ravages.

Captain Porter, after having ravaged the country of the Taïpis, had obliged them to make peace with those of Taïa-Hoy, who were inclined not to take arms again. But when the fear of seeing the Essex return had vanished, the Taïpis, who still harboured resentment, re-commenced hostilities, by killing a priest who had come among them without fearing any harm. Now the greatest animosity appears to exist between the two tribes. I did not learn that any important expedition had been made against the Taïpis, but small detachments sometimes pass the mountains, advance secretly into the thinly inhabited valleys, and carry off the unfortunate individuals whom they can surprise. They spare neither age nor sex; nothing can save the victim from death, or hinder him from being devoured by his enemies. The priests alone can claim him in the name of their *Etouas*, or gods. In general this kind of consecration cannot save the life of the prisoner, only he is not eaten, but buried near the huts where the Fetiches are interred. I was told, as a fact without a parallel, that a young girl had been preserved by a priest, who, after having kept her some time with him, sent her to her own country.

Though these islanders have their priests, I could not discover among them any worship, or any idea of a Supreme Being. The Fetiches, which might at first be taken for idols, are thrown carelessly about the huts, and no kind of veneration is shewn them. All that I could discover relative to their belief, is, that the chiefs, and generally all those who have been renowned in this life for their strength, or any other quality of body or mind, enjoy the same advantages in another life.

The canoes are taboo for the women, who are forbidden to enter them when afloat, and even to touch them when they are hauled on shore. The taboo extends to the mats, outriggers, &c. of their boats, though these things are often placed in huts, or put under a shed. I was assured that this taboo is in force through the whole Archipelago. From Marchand's account it seems not to have been adopted at Taouhata, in his time. It may have been introduced since, for it frequently has a temporary and local existence. These interdictions take

place at the will of the priests; but, to become general in a tribe, the proposal they make must be adopted by the chiefs. A priest declares that he has communicated with one of his brethren, or with a chief, who is deceased, and become an etoua in the other world, on account of the rank which he filled in life. This spirit has announced to him, that the effects of his anger would fall upon every individual who should eat of a hog having a particular mark; or any woman who should touch any article belonging to the men. The animal, or the article pointed out, becomes prohibited. These people have the good sense to leave to their etouas the care of revenging themselves, and of punishing those who infringe the taboo. Hence, it often happens, that a sickness, or any misfortune which happens to an individual, who does not scrupulously observe the taboos, is considered as a punishment from the divinity.

Many of these islanders die of old age, almost without having experienced any of the infirmities with which it is frequently accompanied among civilized people. They are, in general, carried off by a consumption, which slowly undermines them without pain, till the approach of their last moments. They employ no means to delay it, and do not seem to lose by it; at least, they have the advantage not to torment themselves in vain. I saw several individuals attacked with this disorder. They take to their couch, and expect the conclusion, almost without ever quitting their hut, and, at least, with apparent tranquillity; their relations are eager to provide for their wants. When the disease has made some progress, they begin to prepare for the funeral, and the coffin; this is a large piece of the trunk of a cocoa-tree, hollowed out, in which the deceased is exposed, without being covered up. The hut, also, in which the body is to be deposited, is begun; it is usually adjoining to that which is inhabited by the family. All these preparations are made under the eyes of the patient, to whom they announce his approaching dissolution. These arrangements, the sight of which would be painful to us, are considered by these islanders as proofs of the attachment of their relatives, and certainly do not excite any painful sensations in them, for I have seen several, on such occasions, who did not seem at all affected by these mournful cares. I have also seen some men working at their own coffins, though they did not seem likely to want them soon.

At the approach of death, all the arms in the house are discharged; the relations and friends of the same sex as the deceased assemble round him. If he is a person of importance on his own account, or belonging to a great family, all

persons of a certain rank come together. I witnessed, at Nukahiva, one of the scenes of grief; these person who was the object of it, was the wife of the old chief Pahoutehe, surnamed the Elephant; for more than a year she had been labouring under a consumption, which seemed likely to carry her off very soon. Forty or fifty women had assembled in the house, in the middle of which they had placed the patient, who generally occupied a small separate apartment at one end. All were clothed in white linen, dressed in their finest ornaments, and, especially, with perfect cleanliness, the use of oil and saffron being prohibited in these mournful ceremonies. Her husband holding her right hand, and one of her sons the left, they rubbed them gently, warmed them between their own, and bathed them with their tears. There was a certain concord in their lamentations; all the female mourners did not employ the same expressions, but they spoke in the same tone, and terminated their verses simultaneously, with cries and groans in cadence, which stifled their voice. This exercise being the more fatiguing, because it was a constrained action in most of them, the performers were relieved from time to time, and went on one side to recover from the fatigue which this restraint had imposed upon them. Except the hired mourners, the rest of the assembly seemed to be but little affected; they chatted, and even laughed, as they would have done any where else, only making less noise. This comedy was repeated two successive days, and each time lasted five hours. On the third day, the patient had recovered a part of her strength, and, at the time of my departure, which was above six weeks after, she still struggled with the disease, which, in these countries, at least, has never medicine for its auxiliary.

The language of these islanders is soft, harmonious, flexible, and easy to be pronounced. The great number of vowels of which it is composed, gives it this advantage, which, however, is common to the people who live between the tropics.

The inhabitants of Rahopou have the advantage above all the other islands, of not having been troubled, for a long time, by intestine wars. I know not whether it is to their own prudence that they owe the charms of peace: at least, it is certain, that by virtue of a taboo, which has been long in force, the exportation of sanders-wood is forbidden. This regulation, the natural effect of which is, to hinder the introduction of fire-arms, with which navigators inundate the other islands, is a proof how much this religious interdict, the only legislation of the South Sea islanders, might contribute to their welfare, in the hands of wise depositaries, who, instead of the

frivolous and ridiculous use, often made of it, should know how to employ it with address, for the interest and welfare of their fellow countrymen.

But if the inhabitants of Rahopou are peaceable towards each other, they are cruel to foreign prisoners whom chance throws in their hands. The English brig, the Matilda, Captain Fowler, being at anchor off this island, was plundered in the month of April, 1815. Five natives of the Society Islands who had been taken on board as sailors, had deserted a few days before and joined the natives. Taking advantage of a dark night and a high wind blowing towards the shore, they cut the cables which held the ship; the sea being very high, it was thrown upon the coast, and filled with water. When the natives saw that it was impossible to set it afloat again, they resolved to massacre all the crew, which seems to be the general custom of the islands of this Archipelago, when bad weather or any accident causes a foreign vessel to strand upon their coast. Captain Fowler had happily acquired the friendship of the chief named Nouhatou, who presided in the kind of tribunal which was to decide the fate of these unfortunate sailors. He permitted without difficulty the plunder of the Matilda, but would not consent to the massacre of the crew. These unfortunate men perceived by the few expressions which they were able to comprehend and the gesticulations that were made, that their lives depended on the issue of the debate of which they were the subject. Several chiefs, but of inferior quality, strongly opposed Nouchatou; it was only by the most ardent solicitation that he could save this unfortunate crew from the fury of the barbarians. It is even related that seeing all his prayers and arguments fail of making an impression on the assembly, he took a rope, and placing it round his own neck and that of his son, ordered a chief, who was nearest to him, to strangle them both: "that I may not see," said he, "during my life, so infamous an action; and that I and my son may not be accused of sanctioning by our presence the death of men who had never done us any harm." So magnanimous an action excited the surprize and admiration of the savages, who remained a moment petrified with astonishment, and then cried out unanimously, chief, chief, let the strangers live, we will keep our chief. The lives of the unfortunate Englishmen were saved, but the vessel was totally pillaged.

Having sailed from Nukahiva, on the 28th of February, we passed the following morning by the Island of Heheaou, which Ross had told me was occupied by a little colony from Nukahiva. These people not finding themselves comfortable at

home, (the northern part of the island) gave to an American, a certain quantity of sanders wood to take them to an island, with which he pretended to be acquainted, and of which he doubtless gave them a picture very different from the rock on which he left them. Their new abode produces only some cocoa trees, but they also find some resource in fishing. Though they have indeed enough to keep them alive, they begged the captain of a ship which touched there, to carry them back to Nukahiva; but he had just come from it, and the situation of these islands, to the leeward of the Archipelago, and still more the want of wood to build boats, will prevent these unfortunate Indians from returning to their happy island, which they had the imprudence to leave.

From this time nothing remarkable occurred till our arrival in the roads of New Archangel, where we cast anchor on the 5th of April. Mr. Heigemeister, captain of the Kutusoff, had just taken the command of that place, which is the principal settlement of the Russians in this part of the world belonging to the North West Company. In my first interview with him he gave me proofs that the kindness he had already expressed towards me at Lima and Saint Francisco, was not cooled now that he was able to shew it in an effectual manner. He promised to afford me all the assistance towards repairing the unsuccessful commencement of our expedition, which he could command without prejudice to the interests entrusted to him.

We concluded together an agreement to undertake the sea otter fishery on our joint account. The principal stipulations were that the company should furnish us with thirty baidares, each manned by two Kodiak hunters, the whole under the direction of two agents; that the produce of the chace should be equally divided, and that 200 piasters should be paid, as an indemnity for each hunter who should lose his life in an attack from the Indians. This arrangement seemed to me the more advantageous, as the experience I had acquired the preceding year allowed me but small hopes of success in trafficing for furs with the Indians in exchange for our goods, which were badly chosen; and as the contingency, in which I was bound to an indemnity, had been for several years of rare occurrence. We were also authorized to place, free of expense, in the company's warehouses, the sanders wood and other things which could be of no use during the expedition.

My departure for port Saint Paul, in the island of Kodiak, where we were to take the hunters on board, was retarded by the necessity of examing the copper sheathing, which was decayed. On the 21st I went to visit an Indian establishment in one of the little islands, five or six miles to the north-west

of New Archangel. I made this excursion in a baidare for three persons, which was given me by order of Mr. Heigemeister. One of the Kodiaks who accompanied me had been some time a prisoner among the Spaniards at Saint Francisco, and spoke the language tolerably. His residence at that place had given him a certain predilection for the country and its inhabitants, which is very natural if we compare the rude climate, and the laborious life of the Kodiaks in their own islands, and the other Russian settlements, with the temperature of California, and the happy *far niente* which sheds its influence, more or less, upon every thing connected with the Spaniards.

We entered a cove which is almost wholly closed by an island, on which is situated an Indian village, consisting of about twenty wooden huts. The landing place being inconvenient, the Indians, whom the sight of the baidare had drawn together, to the number of fifty, lifted up the boat before I could get out of it, and amidst loud cries, carried me to the hut of their Chief who received me with hospitality, and ordered slices of some kind of fat to be brought, which I tasted, and to my great astonishment found eatable. He then presented me with two kinds of fruit pies, one of a pretty agreeable taste resembling currants, the other mixed with rancid fat which was execrable. They were served in china plates with knife and fork complete, and all tolerably neat. After he had consulted with his wife, the Chief presented me with four small white martens' skins, though he saw clearly from the trifling presents I had made him that I had but little to give him in return. There were about a hundred Indians in his hut who behaved with great propriety. The women seem to be treated with great respect by the natives.

All our preparations being completed by the 1st of May, we made ready to put to sea with the first breeze. Petrowsky, the agent of the company, who was to direct the sea-otter fishery, came on board with the pilot and a passenger for Kodiak. Mr. Heigemeister came on board to take leave, and I gave him a packet for France, which he promised to send by the sloop which he was going to dispatch for Ochotsk. Our voyage was sufficiently favourable, and we anchored in port St. Paul on the 12th. The next day I went on shore to see the chief of the establishment and Governor of the island, Mr. Patarotch, who had the title of superintendant. He received me very kindly, congratulated me on my arrival, through the medium of an American who spoke Russian, communicated the orders which he had received in our favour, and expressed himself ready to do all that depended upon him to dispatch

the baidares without delay, and to do any thing else that was agreeable to me. The baidares were ready in consequence of the orders previously given by the governor general. Nothing was wanting but to collect them, which would require only a few days. The two following days were employed in landing the goods embarked at Sitka for this establishment.

During the remainder of the month we performed the necessary operations for our expedition, got on board a sufficient store of dry fish, train oil and tobacco, for the Kodiaks, and also trunks to contain the furs. The carpenters made a spare deck in the hold, and every thing was got ready to receive the baidares as soon as they should be dry enough to be put on board, which the rainy weather had not yet allowed. We began to get them on board on the 29th, and were obliged to put them through one of the windows. Twenty-two, which with some difficulty could be got between decks, were disposed of in the most convenient manner. On the 30th, most of the Kodiaks belonging to the expedition brought on board their lances, darts, and other apparatus for the fishery. I called the crew together and prescribed the conduct they ought to observe towards these peaceable but rather irritable people. I prohibited all intercourse except such as the service required, all purchasing of effects, arms, &c. upon any pretence whatever. We received a swivel, ten muskets, &c. for the expedition, and set sail on the 1st of June.

Being unacquainted with the Russian language and that of the natives, I could gather but little information respecting Kodiak. The population is considerably diminished, since it is under the dominion of the Russians, being reduced to twelve or fifteen thousand souls. I was convinced by my own inspection that the villages are thinly scattered, and that the islands before the port, formerly occupied by a numerous population, have now only three small villages. This diminution is particularly ascribed to the ravages of the small pox. This scourge had probably been checked sometime since by the vaccine. The company employs in its civil and mercantile administration, and in magazines, about thirty Russians, and twice as many creoles, children of women of the country.

The Russian company has the most absolute monopoly at Kodiak, as well as in all the Russian possessions in this part of the world. The measures which it takes to secure this monopoly, added to the submission and the character of the natives, oppose such great obstacles to smuggling, and allow so little hope of profit, that it is not likely to be attempted. Under a less exclusive system, fire-arms, powder, and other ammunition, coarse woollens and cottons, and the most common carpenters' tools, would meet with an advantageous sale. One might

obtain in exchange otter skins, and other valuable furs which the Kodiaks, if they were free, would dispose of to strangers, as the Indians on the north west coast do, rather than deliver them to the Russians at the price fixed by the company. The Kodiaks are not allowed to have fire-arms in their possession, though they are taught the use of them, and intrusted with them, as a loan, to enable them to defend themselves against the continental Indians.

On the 7th I was not able to take the latitude; but at noon I made myself twenty leagues west half south of Cape Addington, on Prince of Wales' Island, and at half past seven in the evening we saw land to the north-east half north, and at ten saw the little eastern point of Coronation Island, which is the most easterly of the Hazy Islands. Being at the northern limit of the tract appointed for the otter fishery, I endeavoured to find an anchoring place, which might serve as a station. I steered so as to pass to the south-west of two islets, which are very remarkable, notwithstanding the diminutiveness of their size, on account of their detached position from the labyrinth of breakers, rocks, and islets which line the bottom of the gulf between Cape Addington and the Hazy Islands. We had no sign of the five rocks which Vancouver places to the south of the point of Warren Island, though we were within a league of the position which the chart assigns them. I am far from opposing my remarks to those of a navigator and geographer, who is remarkable for his exactness; it is possible that the view of these rocks was concealed from us, though the weather was then very clear. At two o'clock I left, two miles to the east, the two islets, which are the north-west extremity of this dangerous Archipelago, and which I shall call Les Balises, and steered towards another island near the south coast of the gulf, and separated from the group. Off the east point of this detached islet we were observed by three Indian canoes, which remained beyond musket shot, with every mark of distrust, much more evident than that of the Indians in the south. At length one of these canoes approached us, and an Indian, who spoke some words of English, came on board. He was from Kaïgarny, a place much frequented by the Americans; he informed me that the brig Brutus, captain Nye, was at Haniga, some leagues to the north, and offered to conduct me thither. I preferred an anchorage which he pointed out in a cove on the north-west part of Prince of Wales' Island. After having reconnoitred it we anchored there, at half past six, in twenty fathoms. We took, for the night, the precautions usual on the south part of the coast.

As soon as the ship was moored, I conferred, through the

medium of Petrowsky, who spoke a little English, with the chiefs of the expedition. It was agreed that they should go out the following day to reconnoitre. The Indians had left us, and, according to their custom, bivouaked during the night on the sea coast. I had permitted the one from Kaigarny to sleep on board, hoping to derive some advantage from him. He had expressed much curiosity to know who we were, for our flag was unknown to him; and the sight of the Kodiaks and their boat giving him reason to take us for Russians, it cost us some trouble to undeceive him, and to convince him that we were Frenchmen, a name which he knew only from our muskets, brought by the Americans, the superiority of which they appreciated.

On the 9th the long-boat was dispatched, under Mr. Foucault, with eight baidares, which had on board the chiefs of the expedition, both Russians and Kodiaks, who went to examine the great entrance to the east of our anchoring place. Mr. Foucault went several leagues along the coast, without seeing any traces of population. He met with spacious bays, and an arm of the sea which extends farther than the eye can reach, to the south. Though the weather was fine, the strong breeze from the north was unfavourable to us, as the otters seldom shew themselves when the sea is agitated; we saw only two, but the Kodiaks thought that they frequented this part of the coast, and that it deserved to be tried.

The following day the twenty-nine baidares, each armed with a pair of pistols and two daggers, sailed to begin the fishery. I escorted them in the long-boat, but though we proceeded a considerable distance, and the Kodiaks dispersed among the winding channels of a group of islands, only a single otter was found. During our absence, four canoes of the natives had come alongside, from which nothing could be obtained but some fish, two beavers' skins, and some otters' tails. The Indian from Kaigarny having been surprised at the window of the great cabin, talking to his countrymen, was driven out, and left the ship with anger and resentment painted on his ferocious countenance. On the return of the hunters, the Company's agent solicited me to let them bivouac on shore, near their boats, which, from the nature of the materials employed in their construction, cannot remain long in the water without spoiling. These considerations, added to the confidence which I thought I could repose in a man who had that of his superiors, and who, in six years' residence, must have become acquainted with the country, and the genius of the inhabitants, induced me to agree to his proposal. From that time the Kodiaks passed the night on shore, under the

protection of a guard, commanded by an officer. They also remained there during the day, if the weather was not favourable to the fishery, which was frequently the case. The otters appeared only in small numbers; our hunters had obtained only twenty-one skins. During the same time we had received ten in exchange from the natives. At our arrival we had found only five or six of these savages, who are always wandering about in the fine season. Afterwards about thirty appeared, of both sexes and divers ages, and their numbers afterwards varied. On the 17th, in the morning, more Indians appeared than on the preceding days, with a pretty considerable quantity of furs. They retired, as usual, at noon, to take their repast, promising to return to barter the rest of the furs, of which they had not yet disposed. None of them, however, returned in the evening. The following day only a single canoe appeared, which landed at the back of the cove, without stopping at the ship. This sudden disappearance of the natives, after the promise they had made the day before, exciting my suspicions, I resolved to recall the Kodiaks, who were in their bivouac, the weather not having permitted them to go out: but not supposing there was any thing to fear from the Indians during the day, the camp being within musket shot of the ship, I deferred the execution of my intention till the evening. Meantime I went on shore to visit the environs of the camp, where I generally made an excursion about 5 o'clock. I intended also to watch for the hour of high water, the moon being full. I immediately sent back the little whale-boat; some Kodiaks took this opportunity to return on board. Perceiving that the tide was already very high, I put off, till the hour of high water, my intended excursion about the camp, and walked towards the bottom of the cove, along the beach, watching the tide. After going two or three hundred steps, I crossed an Indian, who stopped a moment, stepping aside to make way for me, and said, smiling, some words which I did not understand, and could only reply by nodding my head. A stick appeared to be the only weapon he had. A few minutes after my attention was roused by a musket shot on the side of the camp, which I thought at first must have been fired by the Kodiaks who had that morning practised firing with pistols, but this first shot was immediately followed by a discharge, after which the fire, though less constant, was continued with some briskness. Judging then it must be an attack of the Indians, my first impulse was to turn towards the camp, but seeing the Kodiaks fly without resistance, I thought that my presence could be of no use, and that I had only to provide for my personal safety, which the encounter I had just had rendered

more precarious. I called the boat which had put me on shore, and had not yet reached the ship, but in the confusion I was not heard. After having waved a handkerchief to make myself observed by the ship, for it was dangerous by calling, to let the savages know where I was, I undressed by the bushes, which lined the beach. Some moments after, having again waved my handkerchief, I threw myself into the sea, with my watch between my teeth.

Meantime, the ship fired upon the Indians, and sent out the long boat, which, having first steered towards the camp, turned aside on perceiving me, and reached me when I was still near the shore. It was immediately received by a very brisk fire, which it returned with its blunderbusses and muskets. As it came up, I made an ineffectual attempt to get into the boat, in which I perceived that several men were wounded. Not choosing to detain the boat under the fire made upon it by the Indians, who had come up in great numbers, under cover of the bushes, which I had just quitted, and not seeing, in this part, any Kodiak to assist, I ordered Mr. Partarieux, who commanded the boat, to stand off, without losing time to take me in. I kept by the side of the boat, which rowed off, firing towards the camp; it afterwards took me on board, and I found four men wounded of the seven who composed the crew. Two were wounded but slightly; but most of the ammunition was consumed, and the boat was incumbered with casks. Under these circumstances, I did not think fit to return into the fire, and I made it steer towards the ship, which we reached at half past one. It continued to fire towards the places from which the fire of the natives came, who kept themselves constantly under cover from the wood, by means of which they had approached within pistol-shot, without being perceived, and had suddenly attacked the Kodiaks, who had thought themselves perfectly secure. The two whale-boats being ready when I arrived on board, I dispatched them under the orders of Mr. Foucault, to take in such of these unfortunate people as might have been able to escape the fury of the first attack, either by throwing themselves into the boats, or by concealing themselves in cavities of the rocks, which line the beach. Mr. Briole took out of several baidares, which were full of water, being pierced with shots, seven men, of whom four were wounded, and one dead. The great whale-boat having gone to take in a Kodiak, who was seen among the rocks to the north of the camp, saved seven others, who crept successively out of the same hole, where, under other circumstances, three men would hardly have found room. Our boats went to take the fugitives on the

shore itself, or at a very small distance from it, as it were, under the muskets of the Indians. Though supported by the fire of the ship, I regard it as an effect of Providence that they experienced no loss. This success amidst the disasters of this day, was owing to the devotedness and coolness of the officers in fulfilling a duty equally sacred and dangerous, and to the conduct of some brave men who voluntarily accompanied them.

At three o'clock the long boat, under Mr. Foucault, and a whale boat, under Mr. Partarieux, rowed along the coast at a small distance, to pick up the Kodiaks who might have saved themselves on this side, but they returned at four without having seen any. Meantime the Indians fired at intervals on the ship, which immediately discharged its cannon towards that part of the shore from which the firing came. Some of them came singly about the baidares to plunder, but retired on the first musket shot. Their presence was not very alarming, but the certainty that they were concealed in a position where every thing was in their favour, did not allow us to go on shore to take away the baidares and bury the dead. As for the wounded, besides the natural cruelty of the savages, the sight of the ground but too clearly proved that none of them were alive. Before night the deck was cleared of every thing that might hinder the working of the guns, and the long boat was completely equipped. During the whole night five or six guns were fired every hour to keep off the savages. They returned only one musket-shot at half past ten.

On the morning of the 19th some natives still showed themselves, both about the baidares and at the back of the cove. The long boat and a whale boat were sent under the command of Mr. Foucault, accompanied by the second agent. They ascended the west side as far as the point; the agent called from time to time, in the Kodiak language, in order to draw from their retreat those who might have found refuge in this part; but no voice answered to the call, which must have made the fugitives come forward if any had existed. Mr. Foucault saw at a great distance, three canoes which seemed to come from the entrance and to steer to the north-west; he returned on board at three o'clock. As every thing indicated that the main body of the Indians had retired, Mr. Foucault was again sent, at six o'clock, to bring back the baidares. All means was taken to secure his retreat in case of attack, and to prevent surprise. He did not go on shore till he had reconnoitred all the environs of the landing place. Our boats brought back eighteen baidares. Some arms were also collected, and nineteen Kodiaks were counted dead in the camp or on the shore at a small distance. They had all been killed by musket-

shot; most of whom had been struck by several balls, which must have been fired point blank. Some pistols being found discharged, proved that some of these unfortunate people had defended themselves; among these, according to the report of the fugitives, was the interpreter, a young Creole of a very lively and intelligent disposition, who, after having fired his pistol, seized a pike, when he received a ball in his breast. Of forty-seven Kodiaks who were in the camp at the moment of attack, twenty were killed, twenty-five escaped by swimming or were picked up by our boats, which made forty-five whose fate was known. There remained only two whose fate was doubtful, probably they were drowned, for one of the baidares had upset, and the barbarity with which the Indians had killed the women did not admit of the supposition that they had been made prisoners. Of twenty-five who escaped twelve were wounded, most of them very seriously.

Mr. Foucault was sent on shore on the 21st with four men, under the protection of the long boat, to bury the unfortunate victims of the ferocity of the Indians. The Kodiaks would not go to perform this pious duty to the remains of their fellow countrymen; they did not appear to be at all affected at their death, and behaved on this occasion with the most disgusting insensibility. A young man who had the misfortune to lose his father and brother, did not shed a tear nor shew any signs of grief. These people have a degree of obduracy such as I never met with elsewhere; they seem to reserve for the chace and fishery, all the intelligence and vivacity that nature has given them.

Wishing to recover the baidares and arms which were still wanting, I went in the whale boat to make an excursion in the cove. I landed first near the camp, where there remained only some pikes and a few articles of little importance, belonging to the Kodiaks. I saw in the wood, a hundred and fifty paces from the shore, the dead body of an Indian, which had been discovered the day before, and which I recognized to be one of those who had most frequently visited us on board. He still had on a waistcoat and trowsers which he had received from us, and over them a blue great coat. His countrymen had seated him under a tree, with his back towards the sea; except the upper part of the head he was entirely covered with moss, in which they had stuck a branch which rose over his head. I then went to the bottom of the cove, where on the south-west, we saw the remains of two extinguished fires, and found near them, under a tree, a baidare for three persons, in good condition. I went up the beach with some men as far as the camp, but without discovering any

other object of our search. I was astonished at finding on the place where I had undressed on the 18th, the trowsers, and other effects, which I had left there. Of the thirty baidares belonging to the expedition, only one was wanting, which the Indians might easily have concealed.

I landed a second time on the east side, with two men, in the little whale boat, under the pretence of seeing the wood, which had been cut before the affair, but, in fact, to dispel the panic terror which had seized some of my sailors, at the distant report of two musket-shots. Convinced that a longer stay would be equally useless to the interests of the expe dition, and those of humanity, I resolved to quit this fatal spot as soon as the wind would allow, intending to go to New Archangel, to replace the arms of the hunters, lost on the 18th, repair the baidares, and land the wounded. The next day we weighed anchor early, and tacked several times to get out, but without making any progress, notwithstanding the aid of the boats, as the breeze was very faint, and at nine o'clock I was obliged to anchor in nine fathoms, only half a cable's length from the watering place; I had the sheet anchor carried out to the north-west, with a hundred fathoms of line, to relieve us from this bad position, where the Indians might alarm us with advantage, under cover of the wood, which we had in the rear; at the same time, we took measures to receive them. Three canoes had appeared at day-break, near the island, at the entrance, and after having remained for some time on the watch, landed near the eastern point, from which some Indians came to the camp, along the sea-shore. With horror we saw them disinter their victims, to plunder them of their miserable spoils. We fired some cannon-shot at them, which they returned, by firing their muskets at the boats, which carried out the warp. We set sail at four o'clock, and at length quitted this fatal cove, directing our course to New Archangel.

Desiring to ascertain the disposition of the Kodiaks, who, since the catastrophe of the 18th, appeared struck with terror, I proposed to the agent, to send some baidares to make an excursion, in sight of the ship, after we had come to an anchor, on the 24th, not far from Les Balises, upon the breakers of which we were nearly carried by the current, our Kodiaks gave a proof of good will, or of submission, on this occasion. Of ten baidares, only four were found in good condition, and departed, under the escort of the great whale boat, steering north-west, towards the Coronation Island. I set sail at nine o'clock; the signal for rallying was hoisted, and our hunters returned at half past eleven. They had taken a large otter, the liver of which we eat, and found it very good.

On the following morning, one of the Kodiaks, wounded on the 18th, died.

At three o'clock in the afternoon of the 26th, we doubled the island, which forms the south-east extremity of Sitka, and entered the bay, which was covered with a thick fog. We fired two guns as a signal for a pilot, who came on board at seven o'clock. I sent the governor a parcel, with an account of the catastrophe of the 18th. About an hour after, the boat belonging to the port arrived; it was armed, as well as the whole crew, the natives having killed two Russians, in the very sight of the settlement. We anchored at nine o'clock, in eight fathoms. I immediately went to the governor, whom I found much affected at our common misfortune, but still full of kindness, and inclined to do every thing to enable us to repair our losses. His good will was manifested by the proposal he made me, to join the hunting party, which he had just sent out, with all the baidares I could equip, if the Kodiaks would consent to go out again. I did not hesitate to accept this offer, which, considering the chances of success that long experience had given to the Russians, made me conceive the hope of making good, by the produce of the chace, the indemnity to which I was bound for the Kodiaks who were killed, and to do it with less danger than if it were reduced to our own resources.

Mr. Heigemeister spoke to me of the hostility of the Indians, who seldom let the fine season pass, without giving reasons for alarm. The great quantity of berries which they find in the woods, and the abundance of fresh water fish, securing them an easy subsistence, they are enabled to employ, in the gratification of their malevolence, the time which, in other seasons, they are obliged to devote to procuring food. The surgeon of the Kutusoff came, on the 27th, to fetch the wounded Kodiaks, eleven in number, and conveyed them on shore. The baidares were sent to the arsenal to be repaired. It was my intention to go out the next day; the baidares were ready, and the Kodiaks, persuaded by Mr. Heigemeister, were disposed to go on this new expedition to try their fortune with their countrymen.

In the morning, Mr. Foucault informed me, that the crew expressed some repugnance to go out again with the baidares. When I went on deck, sometime after, the greater part declared their opinions, through the medium of the armourer; the sailors grounded their refusal on the fact, that the kind of service, which the protection of the baidares required, was not mentioned in the engagement signed by the crew, and that the men who might be disabled had nothing to expect from

the owners. I thought it my duty to employ persuasion, and the impression which the few words I addressed to them, seemed to make, induced me to hope I should prevail upon them, I was however astonished to see among them those on whom I principally depended, and who had given proofs of zeal on the 18th. My hopes were not realized; the motives of duty, honour, and even interest, which I urged in the manner best calculated to stimulate them, could not encourage these people who were struck with terror. Symptoms of this weakness had appeared at Kowalt, even after the affair. This disposition of their minds had been increased by the state of alarm in which we had found the Russian colony, in consequence of the murder of two Russians, who had been killed by some Indians in sight of the colony, and by the exaggerated accounts given by some officers of the strength and former success of these savages. The means of persuasion having failed, and it being quite out of the question to undertake a service which would continue some months, with persons ill disposed towards it, I yielded to necessity, renounced the execution of the project concerted with the governor, and resolved to employ immediately the only resource which I had left, namely, to visit the straits and trade with the ill-assorted cargo that I had still to dispose of.

July 2d the Kutusoff sailed for California with Mr. Heigemeister, leaving Mr. Yanovsky as his deputy: his intention was to procure a cargo of corn, and probably to make some final arrangements with the Spanish government. I intended to sail as soon as the pilot, who was also on board the Kutusoff, should return: he did not come back till the following day, and we had the mortification of being detained by contrary winds and calms till one o'clock in the morning of the 6th of July, when we got out with a slight breeze. The pilot left us as soon as we were beyond the shoals, and at eleven o'clock we doubled Woodhouse Point. It was my intention to double Cape Tchirikoff, sailing along the west coast of King George's Island. I proposed to visit the Straits to the east of that island, where furs are abundant, after having conferred with Captain Young, of the Company's brig the Finland, who convoyed an expedition that had lately sailed, from whom I hoped to obtain useful information.

At day-break on the 8th, the south-east part of Admiralty Island, and the entrance of Frederick's Sound, were in sight to the north, but very indistinctly on account of the mist. The north part of the eastern coast of Christian Sound being clear, I had approached it, that the current might be more favourable; for in this strait, as well as in Chatham Strait, of

which it is only the prolongation, the flood sets north, and has more strength on the east side, and the ebb sits south and is stronger on the west side. At nine o'clock we saw several baidares to the north, under Gardener Point of Admiralty Island; some of them came up to us. The Kodiaks told us that the main body of the squadron to which they belonged, was in Frederick's Sound, and that the Finland and a schooner were in Port Cambden. I took on board a Kodiak who knew their anchorage, and desiring to see Captain Young, I entered the sound, and perceived the Finland under sail; the wind being very faint I got into the great whale boat to go on board the brig, which I overtook off port Cambden. Captain Young gave me but vague information respecting the trade of this country; he had not been fortunate in his fishery, his seventy baidares had taken only four hundred otters. The expedition which he commanded, had not been attacked by the Indians. Those of Kekh appeared only once to the number of thirty-seven, in two large canoes; but the Kodiaks, though distant from their escort, rendered bold by a long residence in this country, had remained firm, and awed the Indians, who intimidated at seeing the baidares form a circle round them, contented themselves with proposing that they should exchange hostages. The Kodiaks having referred the decision of the affair to the commander of the expedition, the Indians retired without committing any hostilities. At five o'clock in the afternoon I returned on board with Captain Young, and the three vessels proceeded to leave the Sound. I steered for Chatham Strait, which I entered with a slight breeze from the south. At day-break on the 9th we fired a gun and hoisted American colours, these being the best known by the savages of this coast. At six o'clock we saw a canoe coming from the west coast; we lay to for it to come up to us; after some hesitation one of the Indians came on board, where he remained half an hour, examining every thing with the greatest attention, with all the signs of distrust usual among these people. He had nothing to dispose of and appeared to come only to reconnoitre. Till we met this canoe we had seen, for thirty leagues along the coast, on both sides of the straits, nothing which indicated that the country was inhabited. I approached the east coast, where I knew the village of Houtsnau is situated. In the middle of the channel we were visited by two canoes, one of them was recognized to be the same which had visited us this morning. He had a pretty fine otter skin to sell, which we obtained in exchange for powder. They soon after quitted us, and another canoe, coming from Houtsnau, came along side. An Indian, of a ferocious countenance,

but dressed with a degree of pomp came on board. He said he was a chief of Houtsnau, and had made several cruises on the coast, with the Americans. He seemed to be intelligent, and to have a knowledge of the trade and navigation of the Straits. Thinking that he might be useful to us, I gave him the permission which he had desired, to remain on board. He immediately sent away his boat, and made me a present of an otter skin, and a beaver skin; in return for which I gave him, also as a present, some powder, and a sword which had attracted his attention.

Though we were soon in a convenient situation to receive the boats of the natives, and several appeared, only one came alongside, and that had nothing but fish. As this confirmed the assertion of Youtchkitau, that there would be no traffic if the ship did not come to anchor, Mr. Foucault was therefore sent to examine the anchorage in Hood-bay, which was pointed out by the Indian who accompanied him, but he returned at noon, without having found one, the pilot having conducted him into the cove before the village of Houtsnau, where the depth was too great. The wind being faint, and the sea calm, as many as eleven canoes came out, one of them manned with thirteen men, another with seven, and the others with a smaller number, most of them armed with muskets. This sight revived the fears of our cowards, whom the presence of several women and children ought to have encouraged, if fear could reason; besides, the boarding-net was fixed up, and every precaution taken before the number of canoes was considerable. Some Indians were admitted on board, and among them one of the principal chiefs of this country, named Katahanack, and his son. Most of the canoes had brought furs, but the natural distrust of these people being increased by the reserve of our crew, they did not offer them for exchange. I retained my position to the leeward of Houtsnau during the night, not choosing to sacrifice, to the panic terrors of my crew, the advantages which it afforded for the trade.

On the 11th the canoes came at 10 o'clock, but in small numbers, and with few skins. The Indians repeated their intreaties to bring the ship to an anchor, pretending, that at a distance from shore, the slightest agitation in the sea incommoded their canoes alongside, which was, indeed, evidently true. Mr. Foucault was therefore sent, at 6 o'clock in the evening, to look for an anchoring place in Hood Bay, where he found one that was tolerable, in which we cast anchor the next morning. The ship was soon surrounded by canoes; our traffic went on briskly, and was not interrupted by any attempt on the part of the Indians, whose behaviour afforded no serious

subject for complaint. None were admitted on board except those who had furs to dispose of, and some chiefs who dined with us. I was satisfied with the conduct of Youtchkitau, who on several occasions informed us of the measures which it would be proper to take. Some changes in the wind brought us into a position before the village of Houtsnau. While we were there, the Indians hoisted a white flag, and the Russian merchant flag, on a palissade, which appeared to be a defensive work. We replied to this civility by hoisting our colours. I was going to fire a gun, but Youtchkitau assured me that it would cause alarm. We kept our position during the night, and at half past five in the morning arrived at Houtsnau. The sea being calm, and all the circumstances favourable, several canoes came out, with which we carried on a lively trade, in the most amicable manner.

These two days had procured us forty-five otter skins, besides other furs of less value. The greater part was paid for in powder, at the rate of 12 lbs. for one otter skin. Here, as at Nootka, the Indians found our woollen goods very bad: as for the muskets, there were some among those of the French manufacture which suited them, but they would not take the Spanish muskets at any price. At this rate the powder which we had remaining would not be sufficient to procure more than about two hundred otter skins. Youtchkitau having assured me that in Cross Sound, and in Lynn Channel, I should find furs as cheap again as at Houtsnau, I resolved, by his advice, to visit that part. We entered Cross Sound at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 14th. Youtchkitau telling me of an anchoring place on the north-east side of King George's Island, I steered towards it; but as we approached he appeared uncertain, and spoke of the rocks in the vicinity. We were therefore obliged to seek another place; in which we did not succeed that day. On the day following, our Indian pointed out a passage between an island which he said was Kitghaka, and a little island to the north-west, which would lead to the anchoring place; but, before we entered it, he frankly confessed that the fog had led him into an error, and that this passage was too shallow. He then pointed out what he stated to be the true channel, which we were unable to reach, having fallen to leward. After dinner I sent Mr. Briole, with Youtchkitau, in the whale-boat, to examine the anchoring place, which we so much desired to reach. Mr. Briole found it very indifferent, and too near the coast, and I therefore determined to quit this narrow channel, where we had tacked to no purpose the whole day, and to fall to leeward of the islands, where we had plenty of room. The crew, which had been on deck

ever since four o'clock in the morning, till nine in the evening, was at length able to take a little rest. The night passed in manœuvring to keep the ship at a distance from the islands to the east of Kitghaka, towards which it was carried by the ebb, of which I could not take advantage, for want of local knowledge. I had no information respecting this part, except that given by Vancouver, who represents it as a labyrinth.

On the 16th, at day-break, the tide was at the highest, and soon turned. At five, we fired a gun to announce our arrival to the neighbouring Indians. At two o'clock, a canoe from the south, in which were two men and one woman, came along side of us, but crossing, it was overset by the whale-boat, in which the three Indians saved themselves. The whale-boat was sent out to pick up the canoe and its effects. In the evening, a young deer swam by the ship, and was picked up by the whale-boat; it was without a wound, and must have been a very short time in the water. The flesh of this animal was found excellent at the officers' table, and refused by the crew, to whom I offered a part; they said it was an animal that died of itself. This deer had probably leaped, when flying from some enemy, from the top of the steep rocks, which border this coast, the rudest I ever saw. We likewise saw a humming-bird, which fluttered some time round the ship. We afterwards proceeded to an anchorage, which had been pointed out by the Indians belonging to the canoe, who quitted us after they had repaired their vessel: I presented the shipwrecked old woman with a grey blanket and a small looking-glass, which had to reflect the most hideous countenance ever worn by a human creature.

At five o'clock, in the morning of the 17th, two miles from the east of the island of Kitghaka, I dispatched Mr. Partarieux to reconnoitre the anchorage pointed out to us, which he, in fact, found to the south-east. We steered towards it, but the breeze having gradually fallen into a calm, we were carried to the south by the current, and were obliged to cast anchor, at ten o'clock, in twenty-eight fathoms, at less than a cable's length from the shore; however, a breeze springing up, we were enabled to weigh, and anchor in a better place towards the north-west point, two cables and a half from shore.

In the afternoon of the following day, several canoes came with furs, which seemed to give much pleasure to Youtchkitau, who was quite ashamed since our entrance into the canal, where he had shewn himself such a bad pilot. At three o'clock, a handsome canoe, with fifteen men on board, came alongside. Recognizing Katahanack and his son, I invited

thent to come on board, and they dined with us. The arrival of these persons, and the reception I gave them, seemed to displease Youtchkitau; but he soon assumed the most friendly manner, conversed with them, and listened with much attention to a story they told him, at the conclusion of which he broke out into execrations against the inhabitants of Ako. Soon after, a large boat entered the bay by the eastern point. The chief and his son immediately embarked in theirs, prepared their muskets, of which they had, in a trunk, more than enough for all their men, and went to meet the new comers, who advanced singing. When they came within a short distance, they hailed the strange boat, which stopped, and that of Katahanack immediately went alongside. The people in the two vessels took their arms, they disputed violently for a moment, one of the strangers was struck, and fell. His companions immediately yielded. Katahanack's people carried off skins and muskets, and retired with precipitation through the channel between the two islands. The canoe which had been plundered came along side: it belonged to Ako, and had on board fifteen men, and one woman, who steered. The wounded man, who had been struck on the forehead with a dagger, by the young chief, was dressed by Mr. Vimont. I made a present to him and to the woman. Youtchkitau gave every sign of lively indignation, when he saw the conduct of his countrymen; it appeared to us, that he had been deceived by them. Some hours after, he himself shewed as much avidity. The possessor of a mantle of elk's-hide, refusing to let him have it at his own price, he asked my permission to take it by force, a proposal which I rejected with contempt.

Several canoes came out on the 19th, but fearing that they might be plundered by the pirate Kutahanack, they brought only furs of small value, except one otter-skin. This disappointment destroyed the hopes which had induced me to visit this part, and I determined to leave the canal, and return to Chatham Strait, which I had reason to regret my having quitted.

The bay to which the Indians gave the name of Koutikikakoa, and to which, before I knew it, I had given the name of Balguerie, is formed by the two islands Kit and Kuka, the coasts of which form an arc, cut into two by a channel of less than a quarter of a league. This bay is a central position, where, under circumstances less unfavourable than those in which we were placed, furs may be received from Lynn Channel, and the northern coast of Admiralty Island. Wood and water may be procured at a small distance from the shore; but here, as

well as on the whole coast, it is advisable to proceed to these operations as soon as you arrive, not to give the Indians time to contrive a surprize.

We sailed on the 20th, at eleven o'clock, and passed between the two islands, on which we perceived ruins of habitations, with an abandoned palisade. The wind was contrary on the 21st, and we made but little progress. A canoe came from Admiralty Island, which had only some small and indifferent skins to dispose of. What gave me still less pleasure was, the news of the arrival of a brig, which the Indians had seen to the south. We entered Chatham Strait, and though the wind had fallen in the night, we were, at six in the morning, opposite to the village Houtsnau. We perceived the port towards the north, and, near the village, a brig, which fired a gun, and hoisted the flag of the United States; we hoisted ours.

A great number of Indians, with furs, came on the 22d, but we had no dealings with them, the only article which they demanded being powder, and I would not give the same quantity as I had done before, Youtchkitau having given me to understand, that the rate was too high, and might be reduced, by giving, instead, hatchets, and other iron instruments, of which we had an abundance. The Indians quitted us before noon: I hoped they would come back, and proposed to relax in my pretensions, rather than do nothing, but my expectations were not realized. There remained alongside only the canoe of Youtchkitau, who had brought one of his wives, his son, an infant, and three of his brothers. I gave some trifles to his wife and child; Youtchkitau, after having long conversed with his brothers, informed me of his design to return home, in order to put a stop to the disorders which had been committed by strangers, and which could not be prevented by his wives. He made a long speech on this occasion, in which I clearly saw his bad faith, his covetousness, and effrontery in asking. He left me at six o'clock, taking, besides what I had given him before, a little assortment, composed principally of hardware, but not a double-barrelled gun, which for some days had been the object of his desire and the theme of his importunities. In order to conquer my resistance, he acted, at the moment of his departure, the part of a wounded person: he pretended to have had a fall, and uttered lamentable cries, saying that he had fallen upon old wounds, with which he was, in fact, covered.

Meantime, the brig had left the port, and advanced towards us. We found that this vessel had sailed from Boston twelve months before; it was called the Brutus, and was commanded by Captain Nye, who offered to accompany me to the port, if

it was my intention to anchor there. Hoping to obtain information, I went on board of her, with Mr. Vimont. Captain Nye received me very kindly, and was surprised to find in these seas, a vessel without a pilot, especially coming out of Lynn Channel, which was the most dangerous on these coasts. "You have, doubtless, visited these coasts before, in one of our ships," said he. I replied in the negative. "But you have some officer who knows them." "None." "How do you manage then? How do you manage yourself? I have made three voyages to the coast as an officer, before I commanded." "One of your countrymen first navigated these seas without a guide, and I do the same."

We agreed to anchor in the south port, at the bottom of Hood Bay, and to share the produce of the trade, as long as we should remain together. In the morning of the 23d, the Brutus sent her second officer to pilot us: she then took the lead and we followed, along the south side of Hood Bay. At eleven o'clock, we entered the port called Tchastichl by the Indians, and Suddart Harbour by the Americans. But few canoes visited the two ships, with furs of land animals only. I passed the afternoon with Captain Nye, who was indisposed. We chiefly conversed on the navigation of these coasts. He had just gone round Admiralty Island, and had got only a single fur.

Captain Nye having resolved not to protract his stay in this place, sent me four beaver-skins, being the half of the produce of his traffic; ours had been still more insignificant: he received in exchange some hard-ware. As he was still indisposed, I went to see him before his departure. He gave me a series of American papers, down to the month of October, 1817. We gave each other some provisions, of which neither of us had an abundance, and made some trifling exchanges.

In order to put an end to a competition, which, notwithstanding the insignificance of our resources, could not but be injurious to him, Captain Nye proposed to me, to let him have the remaining part of our cargo. Though experience had proved the impossibility of turning to account a cargo so ill sorted, I gave up all idea of an arrangement, when I learnt that he was only authorized to give me in exchange skins of land-animals. He advised me to go to Sitka, where I should find Captain Davis, who had a share in several vessels, and had more extensive powers than he had.

In order to strengthen the crew, which had still many sick, I engaged two young men of the Sandwich Islands, out of four that were on board the Brutus.

We were shortly afterwards visited by Youtchkitau, who

brought on board two skins, of which he made me a present. He made me a long speech, from which I understood, that he announced a great supply of furs for the next day. But this information did not prove to be true; the few boats that came had nothing but fish and small skins; and Smed, a chief whom I had known at Sitka, told me, that the majority of the Indians had gone to the otter fishery, and would not return for several days. This news destroying all the hopes of the success which I had expected, after the departure of the brig, I resolved, in expectation of the return of the Indians, to go and try my fortune in Frederick Sound, where Captain Nye had made me hope to find Indians of the Kekh tribe.

The weather for several days was variable, and, on the whole, unfavourable, and it was not till the 29th, in the morning, that we reached the entrance of Port Cambden: we fired two guns to acquaint the Indians of our arrival. At one o'clock, nothing appearing, we sent Mr. Foucault to look for an anchorage under the islet, at the west extremity of the port. At three o'clock, a canoe arrived, and, soon after, another came from between the islands, which, without coming alongside, appeared to make enquiry of the first. Mr. Foucault returned, having found an anchorage, where we indeed cast anchor, at five o'clock, in thirty-five fathoms water, in a spacious cove, formed by a number of little islands. Several canoes came, but as most of them, like that in the morning, came to reconnoitre, we had but few skins. One canoe, in the morning, left us soon, to make a report to the chief, named Tachahanak, who had sent it, of whom the natives spoke to us, as a person of importance. The others did not quit us till nine o'clock, and passed the night on the neighbouring islands. The next day some canoes visited us, but they had only a few furs; and the Indians, who had more need of clothing than of ammunition, found, like all the others, that our woollen goods were good for nothing, though care had been taken to make mantles of blue cloth, with trimmings and buttons. Meeting several canoes, I returned on board sooner than I had intended, for I had not much confidence in the natives of this district. It was they who, at the beginning of the establishment of New Archangel, had surprised a large party of hunters at Macartney Point. Out of three hundred hunters, nearly two hundred were killed or taken, the remainder wandered a long time in the woods, only a part were able to return to the colony, the rest perished, or were made slaves. During my stay upon this coast, one of these unfortunate persons, was brought back by an American, who had ransomed him from the savages.

Tachahanak, one of the principal chiefs of the country whom

I impatiently expected, visited me on the 31st, in a handsome canoe manned by six rowers, with his two wives, a child, and his brother, whom we had seen in the morning. This personage made me a present of five skins, but what I offered him in exchange for his generosity was not to his taste, and, notwithstanding the collation he took, and the presents I made to his wives, we had some trouble to come to an agreement; for not finding on board the articles that would have suited him, he wanted every thing we had. These two brothers had an agreeable physiognomy, with a certain behaviour and comparative cleanliness, which took from them a part of the savage rudeness which characterizes the Indians of the north. They were dressed entirely in the European fashion, except shoes. The two women were also tolerably neat.

We quitted this place on the 1st of August, it being my intention to return to Houtsnau, where I hoped to obtain without a competitor, the produce of the fishery, which the Indians must have collected during my absence. It was on the morning of the 3d that we entered port Suddart, where we were visited by our old friend Youtchkitau. He gave me a long account, which I could not understand, of the war between Katahanak and the people of Ako, of a brig anchored at Kutzetll, in Cross-Sound, and, lastly, of the bad success of the fishery. After having spoken of the scarcity of furs at Houtsnau, he told me, that many might be had if I would pay for them at the old rate, which I did not hesitate to promise. I was surprised to find him in this place with his wives, where he had encamped for some reason unknown to me. The canoes which came on the 5th were not richer than those that came on the preceding day; which had nothing to offer but fish and the skins of land animals. Smed came in the evening, accompanied by another chief, in a manner which gave us some hope. He first presented me with two beaver skins, but he fancied this generosity authorized him to make exorbitant demands. He was not more moderate in treating for his friend, who had three skins, of which we could procure only one for powder, at the current rate. Smed, however, generally behaved with propriety, and I permitted him to remain on board. Of all the Indians of this coast none had so much mildness in his countenance and manners: he was very intelligent, and appeared to be perfectly acquainted with the channels of the north part. I learnt, however, from him, that but few otter skins could be procured in this season of the year; that they would begin to come in December, and would be abundant in February. After this information, and what I saw myself, I resolved to quit this place as soon as possible. The only skin

which I received this time was the sixtieth collected in the strait, or, more properly, at Houtsnau.

We left port Suddart on the morning of the 7th of August, but the winds were remarkably contrary, so that we did not reach Christian Sound till the evening of the 9th, and anchored the following day in the outward port of Iknou. Early in the morning of the next day we fired two guns to call the Indians together, but though the weather was pretty fine only one canoe appeared, which had nothing but fish. The officers found on the north-west coast a little cultivated spot, where there were still some potatoes. This discovery confirming my opinion of the recent passage of Captain Nye, who had spoken to me of this garden, induced me to resolve to make no longer stay in this place, where there was nothing more to glean, and, considering the little chance of success that remained on this coast, I determined to sail to New Archangel, where, from what Captain Nye had told me, I expected to meet with Captain Davis, and to treat with him about the exchange of the rest of our cargo for furs.

We were off Woodhouse Point early on the morning of the 18th, but fogs, high winds, and calms, having detained us three days, I left the ship at the entrance, and went in the great whale boat to New Archangel. They had not yet heard of Captain Davis, whose delay caused some uneasiness. After dining with Mr. Yanovsky I went with him on board the Kamschatka frigate, which had arrived shortly before, and was commanded by Captain Golownin, who was not on board. I was received in the most obliging manner by Mr. Moraview, the first lieutenant. When we returned on shore we saw Mr. Golownin at the house of Mr. Yanovsky; he received me with equal kindness; his interesting and instructive conversation made the hours pass unperceived, and when I rose to take my leave, it being too late to go on board my own ship, I accompanied Mr. Filonchkin on board the Okritic, a vessel belonging to the company, which he commanded. The morning being foggy I did not reach my ship till eleven o'clock, and we immediately got ready to stand out to sea. At ten o'clock at night, under Cape Engano, we perceived a fire at a small distance, and immediately heard a musket shot. Supposing that it was a vessel in danger, I steered towards it with a light at the bowsprit. On approaching I perceived a brig, which, when we were near enough to hail, proved to be his Britannic Majesty's brig the Colombia, which had sailed from Europe, in 1817. It fell astern while we were speaking; at midnight it again approached us, and half an hour after fired two musket shots to which we did not reply. We lay to and the cap-

tain called to me that he was coming on board; which he did immediately after. He declined looking at the ship's papers, saying that he came as a friend, and merely to obtain some information. I communicated to him all that I knew of that coast, the Russian settlements, &c. He appeared to be much interested in the change of the governor of New Archangel, which place he was going to visit. He had left Europe in a state of profound peace: he informed me of the restoration of the Colombia to the Americans, and told me of the departure of the Uranie for a voyage of discovery, without being able to tell me the name of the commander. This captain, whose name was Robson, spoke in a very loose and unconnected manner, and had nothing of the officer in his dress and manners. He went away at three o'clock in the morning, after having had a severe fall upon deck. My fruitless visit to Sitka having again caused me tolose several days, I determined to proceed directly to the entrance of Peres, and to confine myself to some parts of the coasts which it washes, and to Nootka to endeavour to exchange the rest of my cargo for furs. At nine o'clock in the evening we descried Forester's Island, situated to the north-west of the entrance. We steered into the entrance of Peres the next morning, keeping to the north side, along which we steered to Cape Muzon. When we doubled it I had a gun fired and the American flag hoisted, under which the vessel appeared at the opening of Port Cordova, which the Indians call Kaïgarny.

Having learnt from the Americans and Russians that the inhabitants of this district had taken most share in the affair of the 18th of June, I formed the project of seizing the first that should come on board, and making them pay a ransom in furs, as a just indemnity for the losses which the perfidy of these Indians had caused us. With this intention, I had made various changes, in order to disguise the ship, had it painted differently, &c. After having doubled the Cape, I steered towards a village, at the back of a little cove, the first on ascending the west side of the port. A canoe came out with five Indians on board, who, after having observed us at a distance, came within hail, and asked us whence the ship came, its name, that of the captain, &c. To all these questions I gave answers calculated to inspire them with confidence, and asked them to give me a pilot to conduct us to the anchoring place; but instead of coming near they rowed away, and reached the coast. Conceiving that any other attempt of this kind would be fruitless, and the want of time and of local knowledge not permitting me to endeavour to inflict on them the punishment which they merited, I stood off, and directed my course to

Port Estrada, on the north coast of Queen Charlotte's Island, of which we came in sight at five o'clock in the afternoon. The country, in this part, forms a striking contrast with that of the north, or rather with all that I saw on the north-west coast. It is low, especially on the sea-side, rising almost insensibly towards the interior, where it rises into moderate hills, the rounded summits and gentle declivities of which had none of those steep rocks, and rugged indentations which are so frequent elsewhere. The foliage of the woods appeared to me to be of a less gloomy tint, and the whole scene much less rude.

The outline of this coast, which Vancouver has given after the Spaniards, seems to be very correct, and I had no difficulty to distinguish the port which I sought, from Port Masseredo, and several other inlets which were in view at the same time, in the west. Perceiving four canoes, three of which were under sail, we took in the studding sails, to enable them to come up to us. They however passed, without coming alongside, and the day being too far advanced to think of entering a channel which I heard to be dangerous, we stood off.

Early on the 26th we entered the port, or rather arm of the sea, at Massett, under the guidance of an Indian named Tayan, who came in a canoe to meet us. He made us steer towards the south-east part. At eight o'clock we passed the south-east point, and soon after, being opposite to a large village, we were surrounded by canoes. At nine o'clock, being within seven or eight miles of the point, we cast anchor. Several canoes came alongside on the 27th, with furs, of which we obtained only two, because the Indians, who desired woollen goods in exchange, found ours of a bad quality.

In the morning it blew hard from the south-east, and we dragged our anchor, and were obliged to moor again. The movement of the anchor made the natives, several of whose canoes were alongside, suppose that we were going to sail. I endeavoured to make them understand that I had no such intention; but in spite of my assurances, the fore-top stay-sail having been hoisted, they threw themselves into their canoes with so much precipitation, that they left behind them three skins, for which they had not yet been paid. In spite of all our endeavours to undeceive them, they went on shore on the south side. At two o'clock in the afternoon a canoe came alongside to reconnoitre. Being encouraged by our promises, and especially by seeing the small bower anchor dropped, they called to their countrymen, and a great number of canoes came round us. Those who had left their furs in the morning did not fail to ask for payment, and seemed agreeably surpri-

sed at receiving it. They had but few furs, and in their intercourse with us, proved to be the most covetous of all the Indians with whom we had dealt on this coast.

Several canoes came on the 28th, but they had but few otter skins; they attributed this scarcity to the visits they had already received from the Americans. We obtained a pretty canoe for an indifferent double-barrelled gun. Here, as well as at other anchoring places, we procured a sufficient quantity of fish, and, for the first time on the north part of the coast, water-fowl which had not a fishy taste.

The Indians gave us no cause of alarm. They are the finest men on the north-west coast; they seem better fed, stronger, and much cleaner than the others. In their persons, and in every thing belonging to them, there is an appearance of opulence and comparative cleanliness, superior to all that we had before observed. As far as we could judge, the huts composing the four villages, on the two sides of the entrance, are better built, and in better order, than those of the north. There is something picturesque in the whole appearance of this large village; it is particularly remarkable for the monstrous and colossal figures which decorate the houses of the principal inhabitants, and the wide gaping mouths of which serve as a door. Ascending the arm of the sea, there is, on the north side, above the largest village, a fort, the parapet of which is covered with beautiful turf, and surrounded by a palisade in good condition, which gives it the appearance of the out-works of our fortresses. This district, and the whole north side of Queen Charlotte's Island, is beyond comparison the finest that we saw in this part of America. The Indians were informed not only of the affair at Kowalt, but also of our appearance at Kaigarny, a boat of that tribe, which was their ally, came to inform them of it. This circumstance, and the recent quarrel with the Brutus, explained the terror of those who had quitted us so suddenly the day before. They disapproved of the conduct of those of Kaïgarny, or at least endeavoured to persuade us so.

My intention was to get under weigh the 29th, with the ebb, but the fog prevented me. We hoisted three flags, to dry them; the sight of these obtained us a visit from a dozen canoes, of which only two had come before. Itemtchou the head chief of Masset came in a handsome canoe, accompanied by his three wives. His face is long, a little morose and savage, and has something of the Swiss character. A zig-zag red line on his forehead, was continued to part of his nose. He wore, by way of a mantle, a white blanket, with a blue stripe at the extremities, open before, and fastened by a cord: his hat was in

the form of a truncated cone, in the Chinese fashion. He would not come on board, till we had promised that an officer should remain as a hostage in his boat. We received him in the best manner, and made some presents, both to him and to his wives. We conversed by means of an Indian of Skitigats, named Intchortge.* Having asked the name of the chief, telling him my own, he thought I wanted to change names with him, which, among these people, is the most inviolable pledge of friendship. He eagerly acceded to this proposal, which seemed to flatter him. The exchange was made, notwithstanding the difficulty the chief found in pronouncing his new name, which, to oblige him, I softened into Roki; we made each other some presents, and parted good friends. In endeavouring to quit this place, our movements were so counteracted by contrary currents, that the ship run aground close in shore. We had had not less than eleven fathoms water, a cable's length from the shore, not ten minutes before we ran aground. We had then only eight feet before, and twelve under the mizen-chain-wales.

We immediately proceeded to take the best steps in this disagreeable situation, but it having been necessary to take down the nets, the Indians who accompanied us to trade, gradually got on board in such numbers that they became at least equal to that of our crew. Though the few arms, and the numbers of women and children in the canoes, did not indicate any thing hostile on their part, any more than their conduct, these pacific appearances might change in a moment. But in the circumstances in which we were placed, it was less dangerous to act with confidence, than to shew a distrust, which, by letting them see our critical situation, might induce them to take advantage of it, to attack us. Besides, I was made easy by the presence of my friend Itemtchou, who had come on board shortly after we had run aground, without requiring a hostage. He endeavoured to make me easy respecting the situation of the ship, and especially with regard to his personal sentiments in our favour, on which he said I might entirely depend, in consequence of the friendship which united us. I expressed to him the entire confidence

* Intchortge was well made, of fine stature; his complexion was slightly tanned, and his countenance entirely European, except the eyes, which, in all the natives of the north-west coast that I saw, have always something savage in them. He piqued himself not only on speaking English well, but also on his polished manners; of which he endeavoured to persuade us by saying, frequently, "*Me all the sames Boston gentleman.*" These Indians, who have no intercourse except with the vessels from Boston, conceive that city to be the capital of the civilized world.

which I placed in his inclinations towards us, as well as in the pacific disposition of his subjects; but, at the same time, I gave him to understand, that the great number of men which covered the deck, and the quantity of canoes which surrounded the ship, without making us uneasy, hindered us greatly in the measures which it was necessary for us to take to get the ship afloat. He made no answer to this indirect solicitation, but, a moment after, when we were going to carry out an anchor, he took leave of us. After he had left the ship, he spoke some words in a loud voice, and, in about five minutes, there did not remain a single canoe alongside, and not a single man on board, except the interpreter. This Indian told me, that he stayed only with the permission of his chief, and also begged mine, which I readily gave him. This man, whose English I understood, was very intelligent, and well acquainted with this country. Continuing our operations during the night, we got the vessel afloat again before noon, on the 30th. My friend Itemtchou came back in the morning, like a man certain of being welcome, and expressed much joy at our success. I gave him, besides several trifles, a double-barrelled gun. This man has a feeling heart, and this, perhaps, prevented all hostile attacks from his subjects. We bargained for some more otter-skins, and weighed anchor soon after.

On the 31st, in the afternoon, the weather being very fine, we passed, at a distance of four or five miles, round Point Invisible, which cannot be more properly named. The tongue of low and sandy land which terminates it, seemed to me to extend farther than Vancouver marks it after the Spaniards. To the north of the woody part, its small elevation, its white sands, and its scarcely sensible inclination, give its appearance something indefinite, even in clear weather, and must render it very dangerous during the fogs, which are very frequent in these seas. In doubling the point, we found that the ebb set into the channel, between Queen Charlotte's and Pitt's Islands. We steered towards this strait, which we entered at half-past four o'clock, Invisible Point being to the west of us.

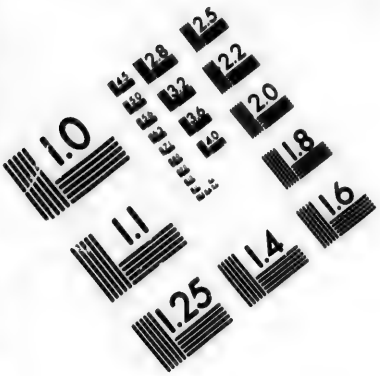
This evening was singularly beautiful; the atmosphere was pure, the sky without a cloud, the sea calm, the temperature mild. The coasts which bound this beautiful channel were visible on each side; those of Queen Charlotte's Island, which begin to rise at a small distance from Invisible Point, and soon form steep mountains, were near enough for us to distinguish those parts of the rock which were bare, from those that were woody. For several hours the most extraordinary and magnificent sight was presented to our view. For an

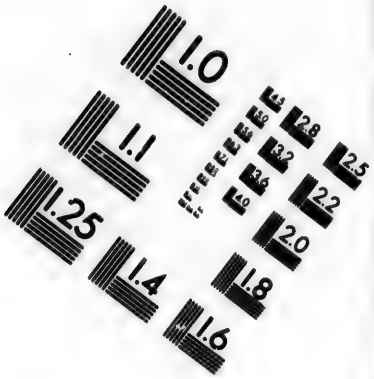
extent of about two leagues, their outlines, accurately marked on the blue sky behind, represented a series of buildings, some of which seemed to be in a perfect state of preservation, and others in ruins; some resembled Greek monuments, others gothic works, and others, from their gigantic size, resembled Egyptian edifices. We could distinguish immense fortresses some antique, with lofty towers, others resembling our modern fortifications. Some rocks, which were only irregular masses, were frequently mingled with these visionary monuments of human industry, which seemed ranged in perfect order, forming not only entire buildings, but, even parts of large cities. This singular view, equally remarkable for its grandeur, as for the forms of the masses, must be attributed, I suppose, to the arrangement of the rocks, which crown the heights of this part of Queen Charlotte's Island, as well as most of the mountains of these countries. I must say that, though several had already attracted our attention in other places, none approached the regularity and grandeur which in this part excited our admiration. We were able to observe them several hours, and the night alone concealed them from our view; their forms not having undergone any sensible alteration, except what was naturally produced by the progressive motion of the ship. This circumstance induces me to believe, that it cannot be attributed to clouds, which, indeed, would be hardly less extraordinary. The sublimity of the scene, heightened by the splendour of the setting sun, filled our hearts with a religious emotion, and it is indelibly impressed on my memory.

I would willingly have touched at Skitigats, one of the principal Indian villages, of which the Captain of the Brutus and Intchortge had spoken to me, but it would have cost me more time than I could spare.

On the 1st of September we went down the channel, [illegible] a good north-west wind, keeping in the middle, for fear [illegible] currents, respecting which I had no information, Vanco[illegible], my only guide, not having explored these parts. It is laid down in his atlas only after the Spanish surveys, and drawn in a particular manner, which seems intended to indicate that it has not been so perfectly explored as the other coasts.

We tacked early to approach Queen Charlotte's islands, the lofty coast of which forms several inlets. The current had no sensible influence; I fired a gun and hoisted a flag at the main-mast to attract the natives. We were in 52° 46′; the land ahead five or six miles distant. We had to leeward a point from which some smoke arose; it formed the southern extremity of a spacious entrance strewed with little islands.





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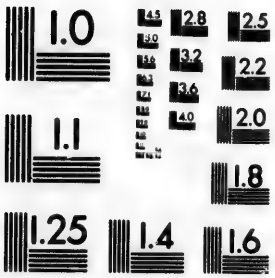

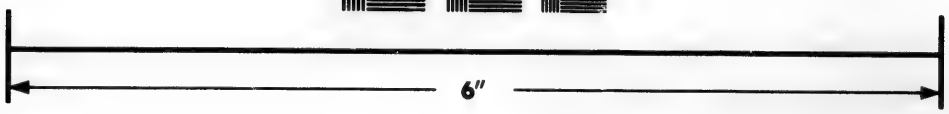

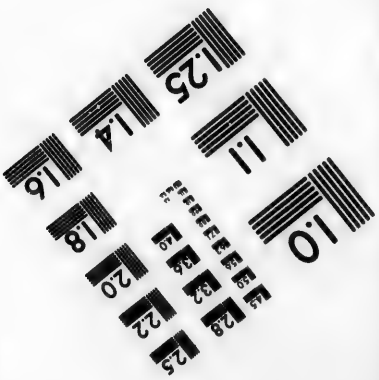

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We kept to windward to enter another more to the north, where the two Sandwich islanders, whom I had from captain Nye, assured me that he had traded. The natives delayed, and I was close to the point where the fire appeared, when we saw a canoe come from the bay to the north. One of the five Indians in it came on board without any fear, and according to custom, invited us to anchor at Skitansnana, a village which was already known to me, both by the report of Captain Nye, and the information I had received at Masset. This Indian had several otter skins; he showed us one, of very middling quality, for which he asked four blankets. He seemed to disapprove those we showed him, as well as all our woollen goods. Two other canoes visited us, which produced four otter skins and several small furs; the natives probably had others in the trunks on board their canoes. All entertained the same opinion as the first, of our goods, and would only have woollens, and not powder which we offered them. They readily exchanged their small skins for tin utensils, and some articles of hard ware. But it was with great difficulty that we obtained the bad fur of the first that came, and it was impossible to have any others. We had again the sorrow to see valuable furs escape us, the acquisition of which was the principal object of the expedition, for want of suitable objects to exchange. It not being my intention to make any stay in this place, and the wind being favourable to proceed to the south, I took advantage of it to sail to Nootka, intending to touch on the way at Nouhiti or at Naspaté the western point of the same island, if the weather should permit.

The natives of Skitansnana are evidently inferior to those of Masset, as well in stature as in strength and energy. They seemed not to be so well fed, and were far from having that appearance of comfort, abundance, and cleanliness, which distinguishes their neighbours. There is also a marked difference in the district which they inhabit: though it may be less rude than the coasts of the more northern islands, it is more mountainous, entirely covered with trees, which I conceive to be resinous from the gloomy colour of their foliage. Circumstances not being favourable to examine the anchorages at the extremities of the island of Quadra and Vancouver, I resolved to steer directly for Nootka, off which we arrived two days after. On the 5th several canoes appeared and immediately came along side. The boarding nets were fixed not so much to guard against the hostility of the Indians, as to secure ourselves from the importunities of these good people, who by their reiterated cries of wacoch (friend,) shewed great joy at our return. The crew having dined, the long boat proceeded

to tow the ship into the harbour, assisted by sixteen canoes, which came with great readiness to meet us, and offered their services in the most friendly manner. At 11 o'clock the Bordelais anchored in Friendly Cove in eight fathoms and a half. Each of the Indians in the canoes which towed us received a small fishing hook: they were much satisfied with this recompense. This second entrance was effected on the anniversary of the first.

At noon Macouina came without attendants; he appeared very happy to see us again, but he soon expressed how much he was mortified at not being able to satisfy us with respect to the principal object that brought us hither, after the loss which he had just experienced. He then related, with all the marks of grief and indignation, that an American three-masted vessel having entered the cove, he went on board, with his son, at the desire of the captain, who was lame. That after having been received with apparent cordiality, and entertained at the captain's table, they had been seized and bound, by his orders: that to recover his liberty, and that of his son, he had been obliged to give a great quantity of furs, which had exhausted his store; he added, that this vessel had sailed ten days before, and had been at Naspaté. Notwithstanding the improbabilities of this story, I did not shew any doubt respecting its truth. The ingenuity with which the chief explained, by signs, the terms which we could not understand, and the singular quickness of Eyssautier in comprehending the language of these savages, induced me to believe that I was not mistaken respecting the substance of his narrative, which the old chief delivered in a persuasive and impressive manner. I replied, that though deceived in the hope of finding furs, I was nevertheless his friend; that I was obliged to him for the reception which he, as well as his people, had given us on our first visit, and, lastly, that the confidence with which he had come on board, immediately on my return, was very agreeable to me. We fired a salute of seven guns, and I added to this honor a present with which he was no less pleased. I gave some articles of less value to his son, Macoula, who had arrived a little after him, in a boat laden with fish for the ship. I let the chief know, that furs being the principal object of my visit, I should depart in two days, if no furs came; but that if any were brought, I should remain four or five. I begged him to let the subjects of Wicananich come with him. He not only acceded to this request, but promised to send his son to acquaint his neighbours with our arrival, and induce them to bring us their furs. He also readily undertook to procure us a spar for the top-mast, and to have wood cut for us. I wished

to take advantage of the convenience of this station, to take in as much wood and water as possible, and I was glad to employ these savages in work on shore, for notwithstanding their peaceable conduct, and the testimonies of their chief's good will, I did not like to send my people from the ship. Macouina went ashore at half past two, and we soon after saw him leave the cove in a small canoe. The Indians soon brought wood, morels, and more fish than we could consume; we gave them in exchange fish hooks, medals, &c. As the disposition of the natives was so satisfactory, the long boat was sent for water as soon as the ship was moored.

At half past six Macouina came on board, towing the spar which he had chosen very judiciously, according to the directions given him. I presented him with a musket, and he seemed delighted with this mark of my satisfaction. Notwithstanding the pacific conduct of the Indians we took the usual precautions during the night. The long boat continued to take in water, which being in small quantities for want of rain, caused this service to go on slowly. The cooper and the steward were employed in gathering the young shoots of the fir, of which beer was made the same evening. The spar which we had received from Macouina was landed on the beach near the village, and the carpenters were employed in squaring it, which they completed in the course of the day. The Indians brought us great numbers of fish and fire wood. We had their canoes continually alongside, their conduct was always peaceable, and we had nothing to complain of but their poverty. They were not able to furnish us with more than three small otter skins, which we purchased, as well as some furs of land animals.

Macouina and his son breakfasted with us, after which the latter left us to signify our arrival to Wicananich. We were also visited by their wives, with several little children. Some presents were made to these ladies, who at our first visit did not come on board. At half past two, at Macouina's request, I went on shore with him. He took me to his house, where I was received by his numerous family and some persons of consequence, with repeated cries of wacoch! wacoch! These exclamations were frequently uttered in chorus during the very animated discourse of the old chief, of which I understood rather by his attitudes than his words, only the expressions of his affections for us; and it seemed to me also to contain some imprecations against the Americans. This part of his speech seemed to be listened to with indifference by his auditors, and in his own manner there was an air of affectation. These circumstances favoured the suspicions which I had con-

ceived of Macouina's story, that what he related of the perfidy of the American captain was a mere fiction, to excuse himself for breaking the promise he had made the year before, to reserve all his furs for me. However, the poverty which appeared in the abode of this chief, and the dress of his subjects, seemed to attest the truth of his statement. In his hut I saw but one musket, which was the one I had given him the day before. It is true, we might suppose that he had already removed the great part of his riches to his winter residence at Tachès. After his discourse he eat some boiled fish, and then took from a trunk a goblet and a bottle containing a little brandy, and giving me to understand that it was the remainder of what I had presented him last year, invited me to drink. After this visit I went to look at our carpenters, and then took a walk in the village, where the inhabitants of both sexes expressed their joy at our return. I remarked the same want of European articles which had already struck me in the Indians that came on board. Very few had any blankets, and these were so dirty that it is evident they were not the produce of the trade of the year. The village which had been found entirely abandoned at the same time the last year, was nearly deserted at our second visit.

During my walk Macoula returned much disappointed at having been obliged to give up his embassy, on account of the very high sea which he had met with out of the port. I returned to Macouina's hut, and this time prolonged my visit to examine his spacious dwelling, which we had found uninhabited and even stript the year before. It was seventy-four feet long, thirty-six broad, and about thirteen high to the top, and was divided into only three compartments. The partitions, which did not go up to the roof, formed two apartments to the right and left of the principal door, which was made in the middle of the long side opposite the port. These chambers, between which was a passage, took up nearly half the depth of the house. Along three sides there was a platform raised a few inches, covered with mats, serving for sleeping places. Trunks were placed on the sides, and enormous bottles, formed of the entire skin of a seal, and containing train oil, were suspended to the walls and the timber of the roof. Several of these immense vessels were ornamented with strange paintings. Macouina inhabited the apartment on the left, and his son that on the right. Each had its fire place in the middle; the roof over it being open to let out the smoke. I remarked more cleanliness in the apartment of Macoula, which, indeed, was less frequented and less encumbered than that of his father. This young chief had a wife,

whose countenance was pretty agreeable, and one child; on his return from his fatiguing and fruitless embassy, she presented him with something to eat; these very slight attentions and some cold caresses seemed to us, under such circumstances, but faint marks of attachment between a young couple who had hardly been married a year. I was but little surprised at it, being accustomed to the manners of these men, in whom a precarious existence and a state of constant hostility with all the creation, tend to develope the hateful passions rather than mild affections. The other half of the house, in which there were only mats and some fishing implements, and household utensils, was the habitations of the slaves. Two colossal and monstrous figures already mentioned, were the principal decorations of this Indian dwelling.

I returned on board with Macouina and his son, where I was visited by Omacteachloa, who said he had come on purpose from Tachès, to see his good friends, the French. The evening passed in conversing, in the most friendly manner, whether it was, that our conduct had gained the good will of the Indians, or that their own interest made them put on the appearance. As, among other subjects, I spoke of the possibility of another visit to Nootka, the old chief expressed a lively wish that we would return, and form a permanent establishment, as the Spaniards had formerly done. He was also extremely desirous to keep Eyssautier till my return: his happy character, joined to a singular facility in comprehending their language and signs, gained him the favour of all the savages, with whom he was our natural interpreter. Macouina begged me to leave him behind, and endeavoured to gain him by the assurance of his constant friendship, by the offer of a wife of a family of distinction, of his own choice, and the promise to let him share with him in the noble labours of the whale fishery, and the pursuit of sea-otters. Nothing seemed to him more seducing, and more calculated to shake the resolution of our young companion, than the picture which he gave him of the delightful repose he would enjoy during the bad season, or rather the absolute idleness in which he would be able to indulge, and which he expressed in a manner not to be mistaken, by folding his arms, and pretending to go to sleep. He then explained, in a very intelligible manner, that he had concluded a treaty with the Spaniards, which he made us understand by signs, had been put in writing; that by this convention he had ceded to them a piece of ground, on the coast of the bay, in return for a quantity of iron instruments, woollens, &c., which they delivered to him at stated periods; that they lived together on the most friendly footing,

(the Spaniards occupying one part of the cove and the Indians the other); that they had built large houses, and erected batteries upon the little Islands at the entrance; that their presence was very advantageous to him, well as on account of the useful things which he received from them, as the terror they inspired into his enemies. He expressed great regret at their departure, spoke in high terms of the commanders, Quadra, Alava, and Fidalgo, and gave to all the Spaniards in general, except to Martinez, praises, which seemed to be assented to by Omacteachloa himself, who, in his hatred to the murderer of his father, did not include his countrymen, who had had no share in his crime.

Macouina spoke also in praise of Vancouver, Broughton, and the English captains who frequented Nootka at the same time. He mentioned, among others, Meares, who, he said, had built a small house, in a place which he pointed out to me, in the western extremity of the village. I took this opportunity to obtain, at the fountain-head, information on a subject which has become interesting, on account of the quarrel to which it gave rise. The result of my enquiry was, that Meares's house had been built with the permission of Macouina, but that there had not been any act of cession or treaty between them. These, then, are the buildings erected by Meares, and his rights to districts and portions of land, rights which England pretends were transferred to it by Meares, who went from Macao to America, under the Portuguese flag, without any public character whatever. Such was the subject of the quarrel, which was on the point of kindling a war between the three great maritime powers, in 1790, and for which France alone fitted out forty-five ships of the line. The chiefs left us at seven o'clock, and were soon followed by the canoes which were alongside of us. A few minutes after, a small canoe with a single Indian approached softly, and with the greatest precaution. This poor fellow, who shewed much fear lest Macouina should be acquainted with his visit, could hardly be persuaded to come on board, and approach the candle, under pretence of remaining incognito; but the cause of all this mystery was, that he had the skin of a land otter to dispose of, which he hoped to pass off in the dark for a sea otter. We had obtained only one fine skin during the whole day.

On the 8th, the weather being fine, Macoula again set out on his mission to Wicananich. In the night of the 9th, a shoal of herrings came to seek an asylum on our coast, having been chased by a whale, which pursued them to the very bottom of the cove, within a small distance of the land, where the shal-

lowness of the water placed his prey in security. The innumerable quantity of herrings rendering this asylum insufficient, the whale attacked those which remained exposed; struck with terror at his approach they leaped out of the water, with a noise like that produced by a short wave in breaking; a small number of these unhappy fugitives hid themselves under the sides of the ship, and, when the whale approached, we saw them, according to the position of their terrible enemy, pass from one side to the other, with a rapidity which, notwithstanding the phosphorescent streak which they left behind, scarcely allowed the eye to follow their motions.

Some Indians from the interior brought a few furs: but the small quantity they produced did not allow me to hope that sufficient would come to authorize me to prolong my stay, especially as we could not expect that Wicananich would send any. A young man who said he was the son of that chief, had come on board at day break, and had told Eyssautier that no furs would come from his father as long as we remained at this anchorage: but that we should receive some as soon as the vessel should appear upon his coast. This young chief spoke with animosity of Macouina, but seeing Omacteachloa, who was probably sent to watch him, he leaped into his canoe, notwithstanding the endeavours made to persuade him to stay, and went away without seeing me. Upon this I resolved to depart the next day, and sail for California, after having sailed along the coast of Clayoquot to communicate with the canoes of the west side. Thus we learnt, that notwithstanding the diplomatic talent of Macoula, he had failed in his negotiation, which did not astonish me, as I knew that the alliance between these two families, by the marriage of Wicananich, with one of the daughters of Macouina, had not extinguished their rivalship.

Besides the large stock of wood and water, collected without exposing or fatiguing our people, and which would save us much trouble at Saint Francisco, where these things are not to be obtained without difficulty, we had also procured from the natives a great quantity of mats, which would be very useful to us in California to make wheat sacks. Lastly we had obtained here, wholesome and abundant food, consisting of game, fish, and vegetables: of which we took with us sufficient for several days. All this did not cost us above 50 francs, in fish-hooks, knives, and trifles, of which we had a great deal more remaining than we could employ. We had also made some casks of good beer: but we had the misfortune to lose the best in the fermentation. These advantages were some compensation for the little success in trading, which increased our stock by only eleven large skins.

On the 11th in the morning every preparation was made to put to sea. Macouina and Omacteachloa did not fail to partake of our dinner, according to their custom: the conversation was animated and very friendly: it was chiefly on our return, which our guests seemed much to desire; they asked us many questions on the subject, which I answered, as much as possible to keep up their hopes without flattering them too much. Macouina made the fairest promises, to induce me to realize them. They took an affectionate leave of us: I gave each of them a present.

It was near six o'clock when we weighed the last anchor; but the wind soon failing, I made the canoes that were still alongside take the tow-rope, and called to the people on shore to send some others; eight or ten soon came, conducted by the old chief in person. With the assistance of our friends, we succeeded in our object, and a breeze from the south-east springing up, the canoes cast off the tow-rope, at our desire. To reward this service, which had been performed with all the zeal of friendship, I gave Macouina a little present, and delivered him a sufficient number of knives to distribute among his people, who had assisted us. We took a last farewell, drinking a glass of brandy together; the old chief and his companions withdrew, crying out *wacoch! wacoch!* as an expression of their wishes for our happy voyage. These manifestations of friendship, so far from our country, surrounded by the gloomy scenes of savage nature, made, I must confess, a deep impression upon my heart, and I should have been sorry not to believe in the sincerity of the sentiments which they expressed.

Soon after ten o'clock we saw a canoe under sail, coming from Point Breakers. It came up to us, and one of the six Indians that composed the crew came on board; this man told us a long story; speaking very loud and quick, like him whom we had seen there the year before, he gave us to understand that the subjects of Wicananich were particularly in want of blankets, and that an American brig had been at anchor two days in one of the ports. Though I was tempted to believe that this was only a trick of Macouina, to make me give up my intention of communicating with his rival, this information made me refrain from exploring the coast of Clayoquot, and the more readily as the weather hardly allowed us to hope that the canoes would come out to trade. As I would not risk the loss of time by going to anchor in the ports of Wicananich, whom I had strong reason to distrust, I resolved to proceed directly to California. Among other powerful motives,

the business which I had to settle at St. Francisco, the provisions which it was necessary to replace, the wheat which we had to procure, to fulfil our engagement with the Russians, made it necessary for me to reach that port as soon as possible, as I had to return to New Archangel before the bad season was too far advanced. I thought, however, to touch at New Albion, to the north of Cape Mendorino, if circumstances were favourable.

The numerous ships that have visited Nootka, since the time of Cook, leave little to be said respecting the country and its inhabitants. The government is, in many respects, patriarchal, the chief *(Tahi,)* not only exercising the functions of Prince and Pontiff, but in some manner acting, likewise, as the father of a family. There is no intermediate class between the patricians, *tahis-kalati*, (brothers of the Tahis,) and slaves, *(Mitschtmis,)* among whom are included all those that are not brothers of the chief, or his relations to the third degree, and likewise prisoners of war, and their descendants. We did not learn that there were any of these slaves at Nootka, peace having prevailed for a long time.

They adore a beneficent God, the creator and preserver of all things; but at the same time they believe in, and abhor, a malevolent divinity, the author of war, death, &c. To obtain the favour of the former, the chief subjects himself to long fasts, and observes the strictest chastity from the new to the full moon. He chaunts hymns in chorus with his family, in praise of the protector, (Kouautzl,) burns train-oil, and throws feathers in the air by way of returning thanks.

They affirm that God, intending to propagate the human race, first created a woman, whom he placed in the flowery groves of Youcouast, (Nootka,) where he had already placed dogs without tails, stags without horns, and birds without wings. In the midst of this company she felt herself alone, and did nothing but weep night and day. Kouautzl being at length moved by her tears, she one day saw a canoe of the brightest copper, full of young persons, who rowed with paddles of the same metal. In the midst of the astonishment which was excited in the solitary woman, by this singular sight, one of the handsome strangers landed on the earth, and announced to her that it was the Almighty himself who had the goodness to visit her retreat, and bestow on her the society for which she longed. At these words the tears of the woman increased, and a humour issued from her nose, some drops of which, on her sneezing, fell on the sand. Kouautzl having commanded her to look that way, she perceived to her great astonishment, a little child, whose body was just formed. The God ordered her to put him in a

shell, proportioned to his size, and not to fail to place him in larger ones. The Creator then embarked again; but not without conferring benefits on the animals, for immediately after, the stag had horns, the dog a tail, and the birds wings, with which they soon took flight. The infant grew in size and strength, and was successively transferred to larger shells, till he began to walk. He soon arrived at adolescence, and became the husband of the woman; the chiefs descend from his eldest son, and the rest of the people from his other children.

Their era commences with the arrival of Kouautzl.

They are extremely afraid of Mattoch, a fantastic being, dwelling in the mountains, whom they believe to be a hideous and ferocious monster, covered with black hair, having a human head, with an enormous mouth, furnished with teeth longer and more formidable than those of the bear, and both his hands and feet armed like that animal. The thunder of his voice throws down those who hear it, and he tears in pieces all that have the misfortune to fall in his power. The people of Nootka believe in the immortality of the soul, and that after death it only changes its mode of existence, but with this difference that the souls of their chiefs and of their relations, go and join those of their ancestors residing with Konautzl, and those of the mistchimis into an inferior Elysium, called Pin Paula. The former preside over the thunder and rain, by means of which they manifest their displeasure or good will. They are so proud of their dignity that they are persuaded that if any misfortune happens to a chief, the rain is nothing more than the tears shed by his ancestors from the grief they feel at it. The chiefs, who indulge in luxury and gluttony, or who neglect the worship of the divinity, share in the other world the fate of the mistchimis.

If a degree of felicity, inferior to that of the chiefs, falls to the lot of the common people in the next world, on the other hand, they can better enjoy pleasure in this life, being excused from the abstinence and religious exercises which the chiefs are obliged strictly to observe. The death of a chief is mourned for four months, and the women as a testimony of their grief cut off their hair within a few inches of the head. His body is carried to the summit of a mountain, where it is deposited enveloped in otter skins, in a bier which is suspended to a tree. The chiefs of allied tribes attend the funeral; like most savages, they make incisions on their body as a sign of affliction. On the decease of a chief, as well as of a near relation, some of their particular friends go daily for a certain time to visit his mortal remains, around which they sing hymns expressive of their grief, being convinced that they are heard

by the soul which hovers about the body till its entire dissolution. The mistchimis are buried in the ground to be nearer to the abode, which they are to inhabit with Pin Paula, where they experience no other privation than that of being separated from their old masters, without any hope of ever attaining the perfect felicity which they enjoy.

The Indians call by the name of tché-ha the shed which serves as the burying place of the great chiefs of Nootka only. At the entrance of the shed there are five rows of wooden statues, rudely carved, extending to the other extremity, where there is a kind of cabinet decorated with human skulls. Several of these statues wear the distinctive features of a man, and even have natural hair. A gallery of human bones marks the limits of the shed. Opposite the entrance there are eight large whales made of wood, placed in a line, on the back of each, skulls are symmetrically arranged. On a lake near the burying place there is a canoe which is generally strewed with eagle's feathers. The interment of the chiefs is performed by burying their bodies under the shed, eight feet deep: after a certain time they take them up again, to take off the head, which is then placed on the back of a whale, in memory of the skill of the deceased in throwing the harpoon: lastly, they set up his statue, as a monument to his honour, and to shew that no other is to be buried in that spot.

None but chiefs have a right to enter this cemetry, and Macouina had those put to death who he knew had entered it. He often went there in the night, or early in the morning, before any person in the village was up, to salute the manes of his ancestors, and to implore the sun, as his god, to render him happy in the other world. When Macouina catches a whale he goes in the night to the shed to render homage to the sun for the success of the day, and to offer to his ancestors a part of his prey. After the conclusion of this ceremony, he presides at the distribution of this whale, which he shares among all his vassals. He then ordains a grand fête, which is held in a small wood behind the village, and where he addresses the sun aloud, in the presence of all the people. The diversions at this fête consist in eating whale's flesh, in dancing to the sound of a large empty trunk, and in making all kinds of contortions, and above all a great deal of noise. After these rejoicings Macouina carves a rude figure of a whale in wood, which he places before the shed in memory of his offering.

The great chiefs of Nootka, their wives, and children to the age of twelve years only, may be interred in this shed. As for other individuals of all classes, they are laid out without any covering, in the small wood behind the village. The

natives have the greatest veneration for Macouina; they imagine that he is a relation of the sun, and every time he goes to the shed it is to confer with him; they also believe that the great chiefs return when they please, and that the canoe which is opposite the shed serves them to cross the lake every night; for that is the time, say they, that they return to walk in the village. The notion of these savages that the prince who governs them, will one day be able to command the elements from the abode of the blessed, to which he is to be admitted, inspires them with a profound veneration for a person who will partake in the attributes of the divinity. However, we did not see any thing servile in the homage paid by the people to the chiefs. The dignity of Tahi descends from father to son. It devolved upon Macouina, in the year 1778, when his father was killed by the Tahumasses, a nation inhabiting the other side of the island: his successor avenged his death in a terrible manner.

From the accounts of the English and Spaniards, as well as what we saw ourselves, it seems that there are always at Nootka three principal chiefs, who exercise great authority over the people as delegates of the Tahi, to whom they are entirely subject. At the time of our visit these deputies were Omacteachloa, the son of Canicum; Machoalick, and Noak. Both the Tahi, and Subaltern Chiefs, when age renders them incapable of exercising their functions, often abdicate in favour of their son, if they are able to take their place. The descendants of the collateral relations of the Tahi, who form the body of patricians, lose this privilege in the third generation, and descend into the class of the common people. These miserable chiefs, of hungry and half naked tribes, the dirty inhabitants of smoky huts, are as proud of their illustrious origin as the first potentates of the civilized world. Their wives and daughters share their pride. The rank of persons of this sex is determined by that of their father and mother.

At Nootka, and on all the north-west coast, polygamy is in custom among the Tahis and nobles, who consider it as a mark of wealth and greatness. In fact, they cannot obtain a girl in marriage without giving the parents furs, canoes, European clothing, muskets, &c. they are therefore a source of riches to their fathers if they are at all well looking. The poor Mitschimis who can dispose of but a small part of the fruit of their labours, are seldom able to go to such an expense; the most fortunate are those to whom the Tahi gives a wife for their services; the majority live in a melancholy celibacy. Though the women are bought in this manner, they are treated with much mildness by their husbands; who require from them only the household cares and labours which are suitable to their

sex. According to various creditable accounts, the women exercise a decided supremacy over the other sex: in some tribes of the north, they have been seen to use the men in the most cruel manner. It is certain that in those parts the matrons assist in their deliberations. It is almost always one of them that commands the war canoes. The destruction of the first Russian establishment at Sitka, was resolved upon in consequence of the complaints of the women of the neighbouring tribes, who were incensed at the contempt of the mistress of the Governor. Among other affronts, this woman, a Creole of Kodiak, had spit in the wooden ornament in the lower lip of the wife of a chief; they told the men that if they had not courage to fight the Russians, they would go and attack the fort themselves.

At Nootka, and I believe along the whole coast, the nuptial ceremonies are confined to an entertainment. The women marry about the same age as in Europe. When a chief has a son, he shuts himself up for a time in his hut without looking at the sun or sea, for fear of drawing upon himself the anger of Kouautzl, who causes his death as well as that of the infant. At the end of a month the father gives him a name before the assembled chiefs, to whom he gives an entertainment and presents. The son of a chief, as he enters the different changes of life, successively takes a new name, which is always significant or allegorical. The same change is made for a girl when she is grown up. This change is accompanied with much ceremony if she is the daughter of a great chief; it is accompanied by games, in which prizes are given to the conquerors. The Tahi then taking her to a loom tells her, that now she is become a woman she must attend to the duties of her sex. From that time she no more quits her father's house, renounces dancing, singing, and all the amusements of childhood, applies to the various works suitable to women, and observes an exemplary reserve in her behaviour.

The conduct of the inhabitants of Nootka induces us to believe, that they are the tribe, on the whole north-west coast, an intercourse with whom is the least dangerous to navigators; it must also be confessed, that it is one of the weakest, and the poorest, we have hitherto seen. However, the comparative mildness of the manners of these savages, gives reason to presume, that the sense of their inferiority is not the only cause of their moderation. They are but little addicted to theft, the general vice of savages. Their population does not seem to have been diminished since the arrival of the navigators who visited them.

On the whole, the people of Nootka are but little favoured by nature; they are dirty and idle, and, at present, poor and

week, but they are generally pretty intelligent, and have a lively imagination. They have much mildness and docility in their character, are inclined to good, and sensible to kindness. The chiefs, though always ready to ask, are not destitute of generous sentiments. They are good hearted, and the best people on the whole north-west coast; they may be dealt with on a more confidential footing, and from whom navigators can the most easily obtain a supply of their wants.

The weather, on the 13th, was extremely fine, and the sky remarkably clear; but, on the 14th, a mist in the horizon, in the east, indicated the neighbourhood of the land, along which we sailed. A wood-pigeon, exhausted with fatigue, lighted on the rigging, and was taken. Nothing particular happened the two or three following days; but on the 17th, at seven o'clock in the morning, a gentle breeze sprung up from south-south-east, and soon after we descried the land, at a great distance, in the north-east, which was indistinctly seen the whole morning, extending from east-south-east to north. At six o'clock we took the bearings, the last points, as well as the summits, being hid by the clouds. We saw several fires on the low land nearest to us. One of these extended for a great space to the north-east, and was seen several hours. At midnight we spread all our sails, and steered southward, parallel to the coast, which, in all this part, is of equal height, pretty regular, and generally woody. At six o'clock, after having gone twenty-two miles, we had, to the south-south-east, a point, which I judged to be Cape Mendocino. At half past seven, we suddenly discovered, to the south-south-east, a considerable fire on Cape Mendocino; this fire covered the greater part of the hill, from the sea-shore to the summit, and it appeared to extend to the other side. Impelled by a fresh breeze, it made a rapid progress. This mountain of fire, its summit crowned with immense clouds of smoke, the sea shining with the reflection, which every wave mutiplied, the rocks scattered round the promontory, and the second hill clothed with various tints, this prospect, in the gloom of night, was of the most majestic description, and filled the soul with exalted ideas.

Accurate inquiries at Saint Francisco, convinced me that this fire which, at a distance, might have been mistaken for a volcano, must be ascribed to the Indians, as well as other less considerable, and more distant ones, which we saw that and the preceding nights. The natives, at this season, set fire to the grass, to dry the pods of a grain which they use for food, to render it more easy to gather. It was, doubtless, this circumstance, which was unknown to our illustrious La Peyrouse, and that was the cause of his error, when seeing a great fire

on Cape Mendocino, about the same time of the year, he thought it was a volcano. The wind being very faint, we did not make any rapid progress, and it was not till the 20th that we arrived at Saint Francisco. We passed close to the point on which the fort stands, which presented a scene of animation for that country, and very agreeable to us. All the Presidio had come out; we distinguished the governor Arguello, and our other friends, who welcomed us with attitudes of congratulation. They hailed the ship as it passed the fort, we answered that she came from Nootka. At six o'clock we cast anchor near the Presidio, in seven fathoms. I immediately went on shore, where I was received as an old friend, by Don Louis and the other officers.

The next day, I immediately set about two things, which would have obliged me to go back to California, even if I had not had occasion to go there, to receive the price of the goods, which I had left there at my two preceding visits. Our salt meat and vegetables were almost entirely consumed, and it was indispensable to lay in a stock to serve us, till we reached China. It was also of great importance to me, to procure produce from the country, to fulfil the engagements which we had contracted with the governor of New Archangel; and, secondly, to be able to pay, in the least burthensome manner possible, the debt contracted in consequence of the affair of the 18th of June. A tent was erected near the landing place, as a workshop for the cooper, and for other necessary operations.

After having made arrangements with Don Louis, I repaired to the mission, to agree for the daily supply of bread, and fresh vegetables, and to consider of means for obtaining from the missions situated upon the port, wheat, tallow, and pulse. Father Ramon was at Saint Raphael, a new establishment, formed on the northern coast; I found only his colleague, Father Vincente Oliva, who, not having the power of his superior, to treat upon business, could only confirm my hopes of the inclination of the mission to supply me with any part of their produce that I might desire. Father Vincente merely engaged to send me the daily supply of provision, and the salt necessary for pickling our stores.

A courier was dispatched to Montouy the same day, to give notice of our arrival. On the 25th, Don Louis having sent me word that the courier had arrived with the orders of the governor concerning us, I went to the Presidio, where he communicated to me the dispatch, containing the orders which the governor gave respecting us. They were, that the Bordelais, which was upon an expedition wholly commercial, should be subject to the prohibitory regulations lately published: that

it should not be permitted to remain in the port longer than was necessary to supply its most urgent wants: that it should not be allowed to have any communications, except for this purpose, and that only on the beach. The same courier brought news of the arrival of the Russian frigate, the Kamtschatka, and the return of the Kutusoff, which she had met going out; the latter had sailed again. On the 22d, the Columbia brig, with which we had communicated off Sitka, arrived at Montouy.

The most positive information leaving me no doubt that, in adopting towards us measures so different from the treatment which we had before received, the hateful insinuations of the captains of Peruvian privateers had been listened to; one of them having expressed his blind jealousy while we were at Callao; I resolved to go to Montouy, to do away the effects of these calumnies. But Don Louis, to whom I was obliged to apply for permission, and the means to take the journey, assured me that he was not authorized to grant my request, and that I had only to write to the governor. My letter to Don Pablo Vicentes Sola, governor of Upper California, was to the following effect, "that after the hospitable reception which I had till then met with, in the various ports of Spanish America at which I touched, and particularly in the ports of his government, I could not ascribe the rigorous treatment which I had now met with, to any thing but false reports; my conduct having been unexceptionable, could not have caused such a change. As I was certain of removing, if I could have the honour of seeing him, the unfavorable impression which he might have received, I begged him to allow me to go to Montouy. If he should not think proper to grant me this favour, I requested him to make strict enquiries into the facts, which might have been imputed to me, and even to have an examination on board the ship. That if the result was favourable to me, as I was assured it would be, I begged him to allow me a fortnight to re-victual, and, especially, to lay in a stock of salt provisions. I likewise asked permission to land some sick, on whose health the air of the country could not fail to have the most salutary effect, and their presence need not cause any uneasiness, as they had no contagious disorder." I also acquainted the governor with the engagements that I had entered into with the governor of the Russian settlements, and begged him to enable me to fulfil them. I, at the same time, wrote to Captain Golownen, to acquaint him of my situation, and to ask his good offices, to ensure the success of an operation which would be useful to the colonies of his own nation.

These dispatches were sent on the 26th, with those of Don Louis, who consented, till he receives new orders, to mitigate the rigour of the restrictions imposed upon us. The answer of the governor, Don Pablo de Sola, came on the 28th; it was conceived in very polite, but very vague terms. I thought it tolerably satisfactory, though all my requests were not explicitly granted. He consented to my taking in provisions, but he did not clearly express himself respecting the articles which I desired to take in as a cargo. I also received a letter from Captain Golownin, who had had the kindness to speak in my favour to the Governor, from whom he had not obtained a more precise answer than I had received. He gave me very prudent advice respecting my intention of taking corn to New Archangel; this advice was founded on the abundant supply which those establishments would receive from the Kutusoff, which had five hundred tons on board, and might have induced me to renounce my intentions, if my arrangements with Mr. Heigemeister had not been both a sufficient guarantee on his side, and an indispensable obligation on mine. He told me that the Columbia, which at its arrival had asked his protection, met with the same difficulties at Montouy, as I had met with at Saint Francisco. Captain Golownin informing me of his approaching departure for Russia, obligingly offered to take charge of my packets for France.

Don Louis sent a circular letter to the three missions, desiring them to send their corn on board. This circular was drawn up in such terms as shewed rather that it came from him than from the superior authority, the consequence of which was, that the Father Superior did not consider this as sufficient authority, and would not suffer the corn to be sent. However, he wrote immediately to the Governor in the most urgent terms, requesting him to give permission for the exportation of the corn which was no less advantageous for the country than ourselves. The commandant, both the military and the colonial came on board to provide themselves with such articles as they wanted, especially woollens and all kinds of clothing, all supplies from New Spain having ceased for some years in consequence of the troubles. The courier sent by the Father Superior to Montouy, returned on the 9th with dispatches entirely satisfactory. He immediately informed the missions that they might send the corn which they had to dispose of.

On the 10th another courier arrived from Montouy bringing dispatches in which the governor stated that an American brig which had arrived at San Barbara from the Sandwich islands, affirmed it had left there two vessels of Buenos Ayres,

carrying thirty-two, and twenty-four guns: which were to make an attack upon California. In consequence of this notice Don Louis took such defensive measures as his small resources permitted to repel an attack.*

The health of the crew had sensibly improved: one of the three sick, whom we had sent to the mission on our arrival, and several others who had been subsequently attacked, were entirely recovered; but two were unable to undertake another voyage to the North, and I therefore consented to leave them behind, and paid them their wages that they might have some resource in a strange country. The superiors of the mission promised to pay them every attention till they were recovered, and I gave him a letter to the governor, thanking him for the regulations which he had ordered out of humanity for our sick, begging him to continue his protection, and when opportunity offered, put them in a way to go to Europe. On the 17th I went to the mission to settle our accounts, to take leave of the superior, and to see our sick men once more. I encouraged them by informing them of the favourable disposition of the Governor of the Missionaries, through which they would find means to return to France when their health permitted. I exhorted them to behave in a manner worthy the kindness shewn them, and honourable to the nation to which they belonged. I gave each of them a certificate of my satisfaction with their conduct and services.

I likewise settled with Don Louis his private account and the duties both on the articles embarked as a cargo, and on the goods imported by way of payment. These latter were taxed at seven and a half per cent. on the sale price; the corn fifteen per cent, and the tallow sixteen per cent. on the value. The total produce of the sale on our three visits was 6226 piasters, that of the purchases, provisions, and duties, included 6356 piasters, being an overplus of 130 piasters which was paid in specie.

All the preparations for our departure being concluded, I took leave of Don Louis and his Lieutenant, who came to partake of the last dinner that we should have in their country. About five in the afternoon our friends took leave with the most cordial expressions of friendship and good will on both sides. The wind being very weak and contrary, the high lands to the north of Port San Francisco were still in sight at six o'clock in the evening of the 19th.

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* This attack was made soon after our departure, upon Montouy and the Southern presidios which were conquered without much resistance. San Francisco was not disturbed.

On the 20th of October, at two o'clock in the morning, we set sail from St. Francisco for New Archangel. In the course of our voyage we experienced a very violent storm, which did considerable damage to our vessel; we however arrived without any serious accident at Sitka, on the 9th of November. The following morning I waited upon Mr. Heigemeister, the governor, and Mr. Yanowsky, to whom he had delegated his powers, because he was shortly going to set sail for Europe. These gentlemen made no difficulty to receive, according to our agreement, the corn which I had brought, though the Kutusoff had taken a cargo on board at California. During the month that we remained at Sitka, we made the necessary repairs to our ship, after landing our corn. We then re-embarked our sanders wood, which we had deposited in the warehouses, and took in our stock of wood and water. On the 7th of December, the Kutusoff set sail, to return to Europe, by way of the Cape of Good Hope. I went to take leave of Captain Heigemeister, from whom I had experienced much kindness.

On the 12th of December all our labours being finished, we landed the remainder of the goods which Mr. Yanowsky had accepted in payment of the balance due from us to the Company. By means of these goods, which we could not possibly have got rid of in China, and the provisions from California, we had but a very small sum to pay in specie, both for the indemnity due for the Kodiaks killed at Kowalt, and for the articles of various kinds which we had been supplied with. Among these were a cable and anchor, a boat, some spars, cordage, sail-cloth, &c. We did not get clear of the Bay till 9 o'clock the following morning, when we experienced an extraordinary change in the temperature, for we were scarcely a league out at sea when the thermometer, which had been at 4° below zero, in the port, rose to 4° above it. At sun-set we finally quitted the north-west coast of America, which we had explored during ten months, with more danger and fatigue than I had ever endured at sea.

The experience we had in these ten months fully confirmed what our predecessors have observed of the great diminution of the otters on the north-west coast, especially about the Strait of Fuca, and the island of Quadra, or Vancouver. Farther to the north the otters are more numerous, and it is even affirmed that the race is not sensibly diminished. According to every account, all the coasts both of the continent and the islands situated to the north of the 51st degree, are more frequented by the otters than those to the south. The Indian tribes, from whom the furs are to be purchased, being weak,

and scattered for the most part without fixed abodes, the difficulty of meeting with them on the immense extent of coast over which they roam, is one of the principal obstacles that navigators meet with in their traffic on these coasts.

For the first two days after we left Sitka we had a very strong east wind but met with no remarkable occurrence on the whole voyage to Owhyee, where we cast anchor off the village where Tameamea resided, on the ninth of January, 1819.

The wind was so unfavourable that it took us three days to go to Woahoo, and after we had employed five days in embarking the water and provisions, and some sanders wood, we were detained seven days longer by south winds and calms. The chagrin caused by this delay was something alleviated by the kindness of three American gentlemen, Messrs. Davis and Meck, owner and captain of the Eagle, of Boston, and Mr. Pigot, of the Fouster, who had lately arrived from Kamtschatka. Taking leave again of Woahoo, on the 26th of January, I steered southwards, to the eighteenth degree, intending to keep in that latitude till we reached the Mariana Islands.

On the 24th we came in sight of Assumption and Agrigan. The summit of the former was constantly hidden by a small cloud, or white vapour, from which flakes, which soon disappeared, every moment detached themselves. I think it can only be the smoke of some subterraneous fire. Early in the morning of the 7th of March, we were only a few miles from the northernmost of the Bachees islands, and on the 9th came in sight of the coast of China. On the 11th we cast anchor off Macao, to which I immediately went to procure a pilot, to conduct us to Wampou. The ship did not anchor in the roads till the following day, which, for the inhabitants of that town, was the 13th of March. We advanced our reckoning a day accordingly. I returned on board with the pilot, and on the 17th, in the afternoon, we anchored at Wampou, alongside the Indienne of Nantes.

The delays which we had experienced, both in America and the Sandwich Islands, had an unfavourable influence upon our operations in China, where we did not arrive till the latter end of the season. The difficulties which obstruct business at this late period of the year, were increased by the extraordinary number of Americans, who, having preceded us, had caused the value of imported goods to fall, and had exhausted, or raised the price of, the produce of the country.

I endeavoured to avail myself of the smallness of my ship, and the insignificance of its cargo to be excused from the enormous duties imposed upon our vessels, at a time when all

those which came to China were of large burden, and to have it treated like the Americans coming from the north-west coast; notwithstanding the absurdity of assimilating the Bordelais to a Company's ship, the Chinese alleging the established custom, rejected my application: the only advantage I obtained was a reduction of 700 piastres in the payment to the Comprador, the best part of which, as well as other similar expenses, turns to the advantage of the authorities.

We left Wampou on the 23rd of April and cast anchor before Macao on the 25th. I passed the following day in that town to dispatch my packets for France, and to take in wine and some medicines. On the 27th we sailed in company with the Indienne.

Before I quit China I must acknowledge the kind reception given me by factors and merchants of the several European Nations. I shall not continue my narrative any further as the interest attached to the expedition of the Bordelais till its arrival in China does not extend to the voyage home, which could add nothing to the knowledge that we have already acquired by two centuries of constant intercourse. I shall content myself with saying that leaving Macao on the 17th of April, we stopped from the 1st to the 17th of July at the isle of France to repair a leak, doubled the cape on the 13th of August, and having been delayed by unfavourable winds in the voyage to the Azores, the Bordelais was obliged to ask a supply of provisions from three different vessels, and did not make the coast of Oleron till the 19th of November. She entered the Gironde on the 21st, and thus completed her voyage round the World in 37 months and two days, having been 22 months and 6 days under sail.

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